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CATALOGUE OF DEMOTIC PAPYRI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

VOLUME II

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF 'ONCHSHESHONQY

(*British Museum Papyrus 10508*)

PART I:

Introduction, transliteration,
translation, notes and plates

BY

S. R. K. GLANVILLE



PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON

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PREFACE

Volume II of the *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum* has for its single subject the only literary text in the collection, here called "The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy'". Both for convenience, and to avoid further delay in the appearance of a work having peculiar interest, the Volume has been divided into two Parts, the first of which, here published, presents the photographic reproductions of the demotic text, accompanied by an introduction, transliteration, translation, and notes: the second, to contain a full vocabulary and philological discussions, will follow in due course.

This Volume, like its predecessor, is the work of Mr S. R. K. Glanville, M.B.E., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Herbert Thompson Professor of Egyptology, and Provost of King's College, in the University of Cambridge.

C. J. GADD.

BRITISH MUSEUM.
March, 1955.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the long period during which I have worked, intermittently, on this text I have incurred many debts for help of various kinds. The greatest of them is to the late Sir Herbert Thompson, who not only pointed out the importance of the papyrus and suggested that it should form the second volume of this Catalogue, but read the first three or four Columns with me at the time when I was his pupil. That was an exercise in "unseen" translation almost as much for him as for me, but the transliteration of Columns 1-3 which I made shortly afterwards, though full of lacunae and not without mistakes, was of great assistance when, several years later, I began to embark in earnest on this edition. Still more am I indebted to him for the daily use of his manuscript material for a dictionary, which he left to me when he died. It has been an invaluable tool; but much more than that, for many of Thompson's glosses on previous editors' translations of published texts as well as much unpublished material, are embedded in it.

In the same kind, and only to a lesser degree, because so much of the material covers the same ground as Sir Herbert Thompson's, I am indebted to the late Professor Wilhelm Spiegelberg's dictionary material. Through the kindness of Professor W. F. Edgerton, its present owner, and the generosity of the Oriental Languages Faculty Board at Cambridge, I was allowed to have photostats made of Spiegelberg's dictionary for the Library of Egyptology here. Further acknowledgment of the use made of both these "dictionaries" will be found in the introduction to Part II of this volume, but I should like now to express my gratitude to Professor Edgerton for his generous co-operation.

Specific acknowledgments are made in the Notes, or in the footnotes to the Transliteration, or in the Vocabulary, of many readings and interpretations suggested by colleagues. I am particularly grateful to Dr Adolf Klasens, Dr C. de Wit and Mr H. S. Smith who read parts or the whole of the text with me in my classes; and to Professors Erichsen and R. J. Williams with whom I discussed certain difficult problems. Others too helped by their criticism to save me from blunders or to stimulate more fruitful lines of thought, notably Professor Sidney Smith, Dr C. F. Nims, Mr A. F. Shore, and Mr R. D. Anderson. I am under a further and special obligation to Mr H. S. Smith for reading the proofs of this Part and for undertaking a study of the grammar of the text which will, I hope, be published in Part II; to these combined undertakings many improvements in transliteration and translation are due. To Miss H. F. Leeper's help in the preparation of my typescript I owe more than will be obvious to the reader: she undertook the production of photostats from which the facsimiles to be reproduced in Part II were made, and an elaborate series of card indices based on these facsimiles, as well as the actual typing of an awkward manuscript; and her constructive criticism of the English of my translation has been of great assistance. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all these friends.

I must also mention my great debt to the three studies of Papyrus Insinger published respectively by the late Dr Boeser, Professor Lexa, and Dr Volten, and to Professor Erichsen's *Demotisches Glossar*, which appeared after my MS. had gone to the printer, but in time for me to make great use of it while correcting proofs—a debt which will be obvious in Part II of this volume.

Finally I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for continuing to entrust me, so long after I have left their service, with the publication of one of their official Catalogues; and Dr C. J. Gadd and Mr I. E. S. Edwards, Keeper and Deputy Keeper respectively of my old Department, for the facilities they have so freely given me to work on this papyrus and for the trouble they have taken to make it possible for the Trustees to produce this volume at a reasonable cost.

S. R. K. GLANVILLE.

CAMBRIDGE, 1955.

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PLATES 1-29 (of which 1-28 correspond with
the Columns of the text, and plate 29
reproduces fragments from Columns
1 and 2) *In pocket at end of book*

ABBREVIATIONS

NOTE : Demotic (and other Egyptian) texts are quoted by two Arabic numerals, separated by a diagonal stroke and representing the column and line respectively, immediately following the abbreviated title of the edition, name, or number of a papyrus. E.g. Lexa 7/12 = *Insinger* 7/12 = line 12 of column 7 of Papyrus *Insinger* ; B.M. 10508 4/5 = line 5 of column 4 of the text published here.

- B.M. = British Museum.
- Boeser = P. A. A. Boeser, *Transkription und Übersetzung des Papyrus Insinger* [with Glossary] in *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit 'S Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Nieuwe Reeks III*. Leiden, 1922.
- Bürgs. = K. Sethe, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit*. Leipzig, 1920.
- Erichsen = W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen, 1954.
- Insinger* = For references to the text of Papyrus *Insinger* the numbering in Lexa's edition is used. (See below *s.v.* Lexa).
- J.N.E.S.* = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago.
- Kh.* = For *I Kh.* and *II Kh.* see below *s.v.* *Stories*.
- L.2414 = Aksel Volten, *Die moralischen Lehren des demotischen Pap. Louvre 2414 in Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte*, pp. 271-280. Pisa, 1955.
- Lexa* = F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger. Tome Ier. Texte, transcription, traduction et commentaire ; Tome II. Vocabulaire, étude historique et grammaticale*. Paris, 1926.
- Lexa, *Gram.* = F. Lexa, *Grammaire demotique*. Seven parts : Prague, 1947-1950. (The pagination and paragraph numbering are both continuous throughout the work.)
- Mythus** = W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln — "Kufi") nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384*. Strassburg, 1917.
- Petubastis (Petub.)** = W. Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis [= Demotische Studien, Heft 3]* ; Leipzig, 1910.
- Priesterdekrete** = W. Spiegelberg, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)*. Heidelberg, 1922.
- Ryl.* = F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*. Three vols. ; Manchester, 1909.
- Siut Archive* = Sir Herbert Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum*. Two vols. ; Oxford, 1934.
- Stories* = F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*. Two vols. [Text and Atlas containing facsimiles of the second story.] Oxford, 1900. (The two texts are quoted by the abbreviations *I Kh.* and *II Kh.* respectively, without any prefix.)
- Vocab. No. refers to the number of the word in the Vocabulary to be published in Part II of this Volume of the Catalogue.
- Volten = Aksel Volten, *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch [= Analecta Aegyptiaca vol. II]*. Copenhagen, 1941.
- WB. = A. Erman und H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Leipzig, 1926- .

* Where an abbreviation is followed directly by "No." the reference is to the number of a word in the vocabulary of the publication indicated by that abbreviation.

INTRODUCTION

Description
of the
Papyrus.

Papyrus No. 10508 in the collections of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum was acquired in 1896. Nothing is known of its provenance ; nor, so far as I know, was anything known of its content until Sir Herbert Thompson made his Hand List of the Demotic papyri in the Department.

The papyrus originally measured about 15 ft. 2 in. in length, but at some date was cut into 9 roughly equal sections for mounting under glass. Nine loose fragments were mounted in a separate sheet. Three of these fragments have now been put in place in Column 3 of the text ; the remaining six (Plate 29) must come from Columns 1 or 2 (see POSTSCRIPT, p. 65, note 1).

Owing to its fragile state, no doubt, the papyrus was pasted to thin cardboard for mounting. This has resulted in some faulty joins which cannot now be adjusted, but which do not seriously interfere with the decipherment of the text. The height of the papyrus varies from 7½ in. (Column 1) to 8½ in. (Column 28) and this increase of just under 1 inch is spread fairly consistently over its whole length. The roll on which the scribe wrote was made up of narrow strips : the width between joins of the first three strips ranges from 7¾ to 8 in. ; of the remainder from 3¼ to 4⅜ in. The colour of the papyrus varies from light to dark brown, the latter predominating.

The text is written on the true recto (H/V) ; but to the right of the first column is a narrow strip of papyrus, lighter in colour than the rest, and with vertical fibres over horizontal, varying in width from ¾-1 in. and 8 in. in height. This in turn is pasted to another, darker fragment, 1½ in. wide and 6½ in. high (the upper part missing), on which are traces of washed-out writing, upside down in relation to the main text and in a slightly smaller and, perhaps, earlier hand.

The general condition of the papyrus is good ; but large parts are missing from Columns 1 and 2 of the text, and from Column 24 onwards a number of holes and considerable rubbing of the papyrus make it impossible to read a great deal of the text. In addition the top edge is damaged throughout, so that in no column is the first line complete, in many only traces of it remain, and in a few it may be missing altogether. Indeed there is nothing to prove that we have not lost one or more lines from all the columns, but the internal evidence of the text suggests that this is not so.

The Writing.

The text consists of twenty-seven and a half columns and is complete except for the lacunae caused by the damage referred to in the last paragraph. The first five columns (except for lines 1-13 of Column 5) present a narrative, and occupy the full width of the column (average width about 7½ in.). The remainder contain verses of greatly varying length, of which a notable feature is a frequent exaggeration of the size of the first sign or group ; this results in the horizontal signs stretching considerably to the right of the mean right hand edge of the column, so that the longer verses of the preceding column sometimes overlap with the one to the left of it. Only in one instance, Column 10, lines 9 and 10, does a verse run on into a second line, and then the second line starts beyond the mid-point between the right and left margins of the column. The average number of lines to a column of the narrative is 21 ; in the remainder of the text the number of lines, that is verses, varies from 23 to 26 to the column, with an average of just over 24.

The text is written in a fine, clear hand, very similar to that of two well-known demotic papyri, the Strasbourg *Petubastis* and the Leiden Wisdom Book (Pap. *Insinger*) which are generally considered to have been written by the same scribe.¹ The

¹ See Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, p. 6 ; Lexa, *Insinger*, tome ii, [Section] iv, p. 5 ; and B. H. Stricker, *Het graphisch systeem van de Magische Papyrus London and Leiden*, in *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Nieuwe Reeks, xxxi (1950), p. 68.

similarity is so close that at first sight it looks as though the same scribe wrote all three texts. Detailed study shows that the scribe of B.M. 10508 wrote almost every word, and a great many individual signs, a little differently—or quite differently—from the scribe of the other two papyri. There can be no doubt that we are dealing with two different hand-writings and two different scribes. Linguistic confirmation of this conclusion is to be found in the invariable use of *tm* by the scribe of *Insinger* to express the vetitive, as opposed to the more normal *m-r* used throughout B.M. 10508.

Date of
the MS.

Petubastis/Insinger are dated fairly circumstantially to the first half of the first century A.D.¹ No such evidence is available for dating our MS., but there are some indications, both in the orthography and in the forms of the signs, that on palaeographical grounds the actual text should be considered as late Ptolemaic rather than Roman. The superficial similarity of its script to that of *Petubastis/Insinger* may perhaps be due to a common scribal school or common provenance, rather than to immediate closeness of date.

Date of
Composition.

More must be said about the date of composition of the text. According to the story contained in the first five columns, the original author of the text wrote the *Instructions*, which are contained in the rest of the text, on ostraca while in prison. If then there is any basis of truth in the narrative, that part of the present text which contains the *Instructions* must be a copy of an earlier original. The story is cast in pseudo-historical form: a Pharaoh takes an important part in it, priests and officials are mentioned by name, reference is made to the accession-anniversary of the Pharaoh—the scene is undoubtedly laid in Pharaonic times; above all the name of the author of the *Instructions*, who is the hero of the story, is well attested from documents of the Late Pharaonic period, notably in the demotic papyrus Rylands IX of the reign of Darius I.

The presumption is therefore that our text—or at any rate the major part of it which forms the *Instructions*—was composed some time before the existing manuscript was written; possibly not later than the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. And with this the internal evidence of the *Instructions* themselves may be thought to agree: it is far closer in spirit to the *Instructions* of Anii than to Papyrus *Insinger*.

It must however be said that the introductory narrative is unlikely to have had any real historical justification—it is noteworthy that the Pharaoh so frequently mentioned is never actually named; and neither of the two chief actors in the story are known to us from epigraphic or documentary sources. We may therefore regard it as a literary device, such as the story which introduces the *Instructions* of Ahīqar, with which indeed it has something in common. And if the introduction is fiction, there is no reason why names from an earlier period than that of its composition should not have been used in it. Nevertheless the purely Egyptian character of the whole text, and the absence from the *Instructions* of any of the loftier moral and philosophical conceptions of Amenemōpe and *Insinger* still favour an earlier date of composition than that of the manuscript.

On the other hand the date of composition of the Introduction cannot be put back very far. The personal names in it belong to the so-called “late period”. “Onchsheshonqy” itself suggests that a date earlier than the Twenty-second Dynasty is out of the question, and that the ninth century rather than the tenth is the *terminus post quem*.

Again, the fact that the Introduction is simply a literary device on which to hang the *Instructions* means that the latter *could* be of a yet earlier date. But there is no definite evidence in the *Instructions* that requires them to be earlier than the narrative; on the other hand there are almost certainly specific references in the *Instructions* to details of the narrative,² and this seems to point to the two parts of the whole composition being contemporary.

Finally there is one more piece of evidence which bears on the date of composition.

¹ Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, loc. cit.

² E.g. Col. 8, lines 9–10, and the first eight lines of col. 26.

The text of B.M. 10508 is, I believe, remarkably free from corruption. We must therefore be dealing either with a very skilled translation from an earlier Egyptian text which would have been written in hieratic, or else with an original demotic composition. Of these two alternatives the latter is the more likely; and in the light of our present knowledge of demotic it seems improbable that the text was composed before the fifth century.

Content
and Style.

The Introduction records how the author of the *Instructions*, ‘Onchsheshonqy, son of Tjainufi, came to be imprisoned for complicity in a plot against Pharaoh, and how he wrote his *Instructions* for his son from prison. (The lacunae in the first two columns have unfortunately deprived us of details of the plot.) As we should expect the style of the Narrative is entirely different from that of the *Instructions*.¹ It is marked by a simplicity of story-telling, a paucity of vocabulary, a repetition, and a monotony of grammatical usage, which remind us of *The Shipwrecked Sailor* or *The Story of Horus and Seth*.

The style of the *Instructions* is a very different matter. Written in verses or very varying length, they display every degree of complication from the elaborate build-up of main and subordinate clauses which is found in col. 10, line 6, “‘Tiresome to me is that which they do,’ says he, namely the fool, when he is instructed,” to the direct juxtaposition of substantives, without any verb at all, of col. 23, line 24, “Body (of a) woman, heart (of a) horse” (*he.t s-ḥm.t ḥt.t ḥtr*). Thus the *Instructions* cover the whole range of proverbial utterance, from the colloquialism of contemporary experience and oral tradition to the literary cliché. Much of this variety in style and construction is necessarily lost in translation.

The vocabulary is very large, and though much of it is common to *Insinger*, it is more significant that a considerable proportion of the vocabulary of each of these two long demotic *Wisdom* books is peculiar to itself. Punning (as in the second quotation in the last paragraph) is frequent.

As we should expect with verses, parallelism of members is the most notable feature of their style. It is usually displayed in two contiguous verses, only occasionally in alternating couplets. A pair of verses may repeat ideas or contrast them; or the second verse may explain or justify the idea in the first. But three verses on one theme are also common; and a single verse often sums up, as if by way of comment on, two or more preceding it. Here, then, is close relationship with *Insinger* and with the *Instructions* of Amenemōpe; and less close, but still a relationship, with the *Instructions* of Anii and of Ptahhotep.

But there are also marked differences. There is no orderly organization in ‘Onchsheshonqy’s *Instructions*, still less explicit division into chapters. On the contrary the treatment is haphazard. A subject may occupy a dozen verses, or a single verse, having no apparent connection with the verses immediately before and after it. The same idea may reappear at intervals through the work, and occasionally a verse is exactly repeated in different places. It is as if ‘Onchsheshonqy really had written what came into his mind, day by day; for the story says that what he wrote was taken away daily to be read to Pharaoh and his court. (One recalls Oscar Wilde writing *De Profundis* in daily dispatches from prison.)

The same theme rarely occupies more than four or five consecutive verses. When it appears that a longer series of verses is to be treated as a unit of any kind, it is usually because all the verses in the series begins with the same catch-word, e.g. *ḥmy* in Col. 10, line 11 to Col. 11, line 4, or *rnn.t* in Col. 8, line 17 to Col. 9, line 4. Essentially there is no logical order to these precepts.

The obvious explanation of this disorder is that the *Instructions* are the work of a copyist writing at intervals and from memory, and taking his verses from a variety of sources. If so, he wrote a remarkably consistent hand, and left no clues as to

¹ Cf. *The Eloquent Peasant*. The style of the Narrative is reminiscent of *I* and *II Kh.* and references to a number of phrases or terms which are common to B.M. 10508 and one or other of these stories, especially *II Kh.*, will be found in the Notes.

where he broke off from one day to the next. It seems to me more probable that we have an original Anthology of Proverbs, written down as they came into the author's mind—precisely as the Introduction suggests, but not necessarily in the circumstances of that story. It is not altogether impossible that the composition and the manuscript are of the same date.

Relationship of
B.M. 10508
to other
Wisdom
Literature.

The content of 'Onchsheshonqy's Instructions shows in general a strong affinity with the earliest Egyptian Wisdom Books in that it is mainly concerned with practical advice; and this practical advice is closely concerned with Egyptian social life as we know it.

There is also, as we should expect, a general affinity with the essentials of all Near Eastern Wisdom Literature: an insistence on a certain moral standard in dealing with men; insistence on the superiority of the "wise man" (not to be confused with the "scribe" of the Teaching of Duauf's son, Khety) over his fellows (and, as a corollary, on the disastrous state of the "fool"); and insistence on man's dependence on God—in our text a just, all-powerful and all-knowing God, who must be worshipped. And in common with much other Wisdom Literature, not only Egyptian, 'Onchsheshonqy's instructions are specifically addressed to his son—a feature which was, no doubt, by this time a literary device.

But the Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy, which so closely resemble our other great demotic wisdom book, Insinger, in appearance, language and vocabulary, and even contain, besides many similar ideas, a few verses which are found in almost exactly the same words in Insinger, are sharply differentiated from that text by their lower moral standard,¹ and above all by a lack of any of the philosophical concepts which seem to be at the back of Insinger.²

B.M. 10508 is even more sharply differentiated from the Instructions of Amenemōpe. Though 'Onchsheshonqy's aphorisms sometimes have an epigrammatic quality which is perhaps not found elsewhere in Egyptian, they have none of the poetic refinement of Amenemōpe's; and their moral outlook does not begin to reach the pious quietism which runs consistently through Amenemōpe.

'Onchsheshonqy's nearest relative in Egyptian literature (apart from the fragmentary L.2414—see footnote 2) is undoubtedly the book of Anii, with its insistence on practical instruction. A number of similar precepts are to be found in both works, sometimes in closely similar language; though we have to remember that some of the themes common to both are derived from earlier books.

Even so, 'Onchsheshonqy remains in a class by himself in this very business of practical instruction. For his Instructions are not written to teach a man to be successful at court, or in the council chamber; nor to teach him to be a scribe—'Onchsheshonqy himself is described in the narrative as a priest of P-Rē, and his only title in the formal reference to him as author of the Instructions is a priestly one, "God's father"; he is never explicitly referred to as a scribe.

They are written, on the contrary, for the guidance of the peasant farmer, living in the country, or in a village or small town, in Egypt. Their moral standard is of that rather elementary level which we should expect in such a context.

Hence we find that the main emphasis of the Instructions offered by 'Onchsheshonqy is on a man's relations with his family, with his friends and neighbours, and with his landlord ("Master", *hry*); and on the management of his small affairs;

¹ The conventionally high standard of 'Onchsheshonqy is constantly offset by advice based on expediency and the crudest self-interest.

² See A. Volten, *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch*, Copenhagen, 1941. On the other hand 'Onchsheshonqy's Instructions are very closely related to the fragment of a demotic wisdom book of the second century B.C., contained in Pap. Louvre 2414. See Aksel Volten, *Die moralischen Lehren des demotischen Pap. Louvre 2414* in *Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini*, Vol. II, pp. 271–280, Pisa, 1955, and the earlier literature there cited. The appearance of Dr. Volten's excellent edition of this text which reached me while this volume was still in proof, has made it possible to add many parallels to 'Onchsheshonqy's Instructions in the Notes on the Translation, and in two cases even to restore 'O's. text. It is now clear that at the least 'Onchsheshonqy and the Scribe of Pap. Louvre 2414 drew on a common stock.

with only an occasional reference to a simple piety, and a conventional sprinkling of moral commonplaces. The wise man and the fool, the good and the bad influences in a man's life, who appear so frequently in the text are to be thought of against that background.

Moreover our text is written by a man who understands country life and is familiar with the proverbial wisdom and pithy sayings of the peasant. Again and again his images are taken from the farm or from nature—to a degree which is perhaps unique in Egyptian literature of any kind.¹

We are left with the impression that despite the accretion of conventional precepts which no Wisdom Book can avoid, there is here a hard core of practical wisdom, which was not a collection of shibboleths to be learnt by heart (as Anii's son felt about his father's teaching), but something which puts us into direct touch with peasant life in Egypt towards the end of the period of Pharaonic rule. It is sometimes crude, and often coarse; but it remains a convincing document for Egyptian social history, constantly recalling the evidence of demotic legal papyri, for which it provides a vigorous and human background.

The TRANSLATION which follows attempts, more or less consistently, a middle way between archaism and colloquialism. Only very occasionally does it venture towards one or other extreme in order to point the character of 'Onchsheshonqy's language. The resulting monotony has meant the sacrifice of the variety of style employed in the original text; but I hope it has made my interpretation of the demotic the more intelligible.

The NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION aim to provide (1) literal translations where my rendering may be thought to be too free; (2) suggested explanations of obscure verses; and (3) alternative renderings which may be permissible, if not as probable as those offered in the TRANSLATION. Philological and lexicographical commentary is almost entirely reserved for the VOCABULARY which will follow, I hope, next year, in Part II of this second volume of the *Catalogue*.

In the TRANSLITERATION I have followed the system used in Volume I, except that I have adopted the now common practice of differentiating *t* from *t*, and *h* from *h* and *h*, and have given up *z* for *ḏ*. A final (*t*) shows that the feminine ending might be expected, but is not present in the writing of the word being transliterated. Any sign(s) following the determinative(s) of a given word are separated from the stem by a dot, even if only a *t* indicating that the final *t* of the stem is pronounced, e.g. in *hṯt*, "heart" (absolute form).

¹ See for instance 9/8, 15–17; 10/4, 5, 17–20; 11/8, 10, 15, 18, 20; 14/14, 22; 15/22; 17/13, 14, 23, 24; 18/24, 25; 19/4, 6, 22, 23; 20/4, 9, 13, 24, 25; 22/7, 8, 15, 17, 19, 20; 23/11, 15, 20, 21; 24/7, 8; 25/12, 13.

TRANSLITERATION

and

TRANSLATION

Column 1.

(x + ?)^a

1. [. . .] (rest of line lost).
2. *rn*[. . .] (rest of line lost).
3. *dd-w n-f*[. . .] (rest of line lost).
4. *n*[. . .] (rest of line lost).
5. *mn* [. . . 5¹/₆" . . .] *a.ʔr(?)*-*w sh* [. . . 1¹/₂" . . .] (trace at end of line).
6. *hpr* [. . . 4⁷/₈" . . .] *a(?) sy[n](?)* [*nh-s*]*snqy*
7. *sy R^c-ms* (*sic*) [. . . 3⁷/₈" . . .]-*f n-nfr-f ne-f phr.w n* [. . .] *hr(?)^b p wr*
8. *syn* [. . . 3⁷/₈" . . .] *wh a.ʔr-w tr-w* [*n(?) p wr*] *syn*
9. *p hpr* [. . .]-*w rh-f(?)* [. . . 2³/₈" . . .] *Pr-^co sn-s Pr-^co* [*mt(?)*].*t cšy*
10. *dd-f n-f wh a(?)*[. . .]-*f tr-w ʔr Pr-^co^d* [. . .]-*f hpr-f e mte-[f(?)* . . .]. *a n cšy.w*
11. *p wr syn e bw-ʔr p wr syn* [*ʔr mt.t*] *m-s^f mt.t mte-f sd[n]y Hr-*
12. *Hr^g-sy-ʔs sy R^c-ms n.ʔm-[s]^h ssw sbk* [*n*] *e.ʔr hpr šm-f* [*<n> p*] *wr syn*
13. *e.ʔr ne-f yḏ.wⁱ ʔr-w Hr-sy-ʔs sy R^c-ms n wr* [*s]yn te-w n-f nt nb nt mte p wr syn*
14. *tr-w ʔr-w ne-f sn-w w^cb ʔt tn* [*h*]*pr-f e bw-[ʔr]* *Pr-^co ʔr mt.tⁱ m-s mt.t mte-f*
15. *sdny Hr-sy-ʔs sy R^c-ms p wr syn n.ʔm-s* (blank space ⁵/₈") *m-s n²y hpr w^c*
16. *ssw mr nh-šsnqy sy Ty-nfr p . . .^k m-šs ʔr-f mwy*
17. *ʔrme ht.t-f dd p nt mte.w n ht.t-y a šm a Mn-[nfr]* *mte-y c^hc ʔrme*
18. *Hr-sy-ʔs sy R^c-ms dd-w n-y ʔr-w-s n wr syn* [*te-w n-f nt nb*] *nt mte p wr syn*
19. *tr-w ʔr-w ne-f sn.w w^cb ʔt tn c^rw mte p ntr(?)^l ty-st* [. . .] *ʔr n-y p nt mte.w e-f ʔw a*
20. *a^g-bl-n ʔWn e bn-p-f^m* [. . .] *rm n p t² ne-f mš[^c.w]* [. . .] *ʔr-f gm w^c tgs [e-]f sgr*

^a Unless otherwise stated, line 1 of each column means the first line of which traces remain. It is almost certain that at least two lines have been lost at the beginning of Column 1, see POSTSCRIPT, p. 65. There is a small dot left at the beginning of line 1 of this column.

^b Possibly *wh* (?).

^c *a* seems certain; probably room for *a.ʔr-w*.

^d *Pr-^co* almost certain.

^e Illegible traces, but almost certainly ending with *m-šs* (Smith).

^f *m-s* seems clear before *mt.t* (as in line 14, below) and likewise requires *mt.t* before it.

^g Dittography.

^h No trace of *-s*, but cf. line 15 below.

Column 1.

(x + ?)

1. . . .¹
2. name . . .
3. They said to him . . .
4. . . . ? . . .
5. There is not to them(?) (in?) writing (?) . . .
6. happened(?) to(?) the physician(?) [*Onchshe*]shonqy
7. son of Ramose (*sic*)² he was clever (with) his remedies . . the Chief
8. Physician³ (the) answer to them all to the Chief Physician.
9. The fact that (?) . . . knew him (?) . . . Pharaoh. Pharaoh asked many [things (?)]
10. He told him⁴ the answer to all(?). Pharaoh . . . It happened that (he) had a [claim(?)] to the estates (of)
11. the Chief Physician; but the Chief Physician did no[thing] beyond what was owing to(?) him.⁵ Harsiesi
12. son of Ramose pondered upon it. A few days (later it) happened that the Chief Physician went
13. to his fathers.⁶ Harsiesi son of Ramose was made Chief Physician, and he was given everything that belonged to the Chief Physician
14. entirely, and his brothers were made priests without fine.⁷ But Pharaoh [did] nothing beyond what was owing to him,⁸
15. (and) Harsiesi son of Ramose, the Chief Physician, pondered upon it. After this (it) happened one
16. day (that) *Onchsheshonqy* son of Tjainufi, the . . of the house(?) . . .⁹, was in great trouble; and he thought
17. to himself: "What I should like to do¹⁰ is to go to Mem[phis] and stay with
18. Harsiesi son of Ramose, (for) I have been told that he has been made Chief Physician, [and that he has been given everything] that belongs to the Chief Physician
19. entirely, and that his brothers have been made priests without fine. Perhaps it is for God(?) to do it,¹¹ [namely, to tell him (?)] to do for me what is right:" and coming¹²
20. forth from Heliopolis, without [having told] any man on earth (of) his arrange[ments], he found a ship which was sailing

¹ No trace of the normal plural stroke, but *yḏ.w* (plur.) seems the only possible reading. Possibly the sign here represents the papyrus roll over plural strokes (cf. the det. of *m-šs* in 3/18, 19) and acts as a det. to the whole phrase *šm . . . e.ʔr ne-f yḏ-w*.

² *wḏ.t* suggested by Klasens, but an accidental spot makes it impossible to see whether the first sign is *w* or *ʔr*; *ʔr mt.t* is almost certain.

³ *n pr*, perhaps, between two illegible groups and a short break.

⁴ *p* doubtful; *ntr* written as *pr*.

⁵ *šp-f* is a possible reading, but a negative of some sort is required before *rm n p t²*.

⁶ Possibly read *e*. before *ʔr-f*, which would just fill the gap after the missing signs of *mš[^c.w]*.

Column 2.
(x + ?)

1. [.] ^cnh[-ššnq]y[.]
2. [.] ^rme(?) [y-s[.] ^hp]r(?) n-k ty^a Mn-nfr ^rme-y^b
3. [.] a p(?) [y-s[.] ^rwn [a(?) ne-]k rm.w sp 3 hr ^rbt ^hpr^b
4. [.] . . . [Hr-[sy-]s sy R^c-ms ^hpr-f e mte-f
5. [.] . . . [a ^rWn ne-f rm.w sp 3 hr ^rbt
6. [.] s n-f [e-f(?) s]dny a w^c.t ^rbrt bn.t
7. ^c[.] . . . [sdny Hr-sy-^rs sy R^c-ms p wr syn
8. ^d[.] . . . [sdny]y(?)^c ^cnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr n.^rm-s dd n-f
9. ^cn[^h-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr] ^rr-k p wr ^g my wd-f Pr-^co p twt n P-R^c
10. ^h[.] . . . ^h[.] about 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ " lost [.] mte.[w a(?)] ^cš-šhn bn n Pr-^co ^rr n-k Pr-^co
11. mt.t nfr.t ^cšy [.] about 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ " lost . . . pr-Pr-^co tr-w e.^rr-w ^rn.t-k a pr-Pr-^co e mn
12. mte-k nk^r n p t^r te-fⁱ ^rr-w.t-kⁱ [n wr] syn te-f te-[w n-k] nt nb nt mte p wr syn tr-w
13. te-f ^rr-w ne-k sn.w n w^cb ^rt tn ^rn t nt e.^rr-k ^rr-f (sic) n(?)ⁱ te-s šb.t n ty ^htb-w-s dd-f qn
14. a-^hr-y ^cnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr mn na-[n(?) m]t.w nt e.^rr-k dd n.^rm-w n s^rw^r.w n mr-mš^c(.w)^k
15. n rm.w ^cy.w pr-Pr-^co mte.w a.r-s tr-[w] a ^rr-s ^hpr e mt.t nb a-wne Hr-
16. Hr¹-sy-^rs sy [R^c-]ms dd n.^rm-w <n> ^cnh-ššnqy [sy] Ty-nfr ^rme ne-dd n-f ^cnh-ššnqy^m n
17. te-w šb.t wne wn w^c rm na-^h-pr ^hr-tb-n w^c m[^c(?)]ⁿ e-f stm n ^hrw.w n p s 2 e-w dd n-f
Wh-^rb-R^c-

^a The vertical join running through ty to the bottom of the column is slightly displaced ; the writing to the right of the join is from $\frac{1}{8}$ " (at the top of the column) to $\frac{1}{16}$ " (at the bottom) too high. The gap which divides the column vertically in the centre should be at least $\frac{1}{8}$ ", probably $\frac{3}{16}$ ", wider than is shown in the plate.

^b Almost certainly the end of the line.

^c A trace of the first group.

^d The slight trace suggests that n.^rm-s cannot be read.

^e sdny is impossible if fragment d. is rightly placed (see p. 65).

^f The name and filiation would about fill the gap.

^g Probably nothing lost after the divine sign of wr.

Column 2.
(x + ?)

1. "Onch[sheshonq]y
2. " happen(?) to you here (at) Memphis with me.
3. to the(?) . . at(?) Heliopolis (for) your people three times a month."¹³
(It?) happened
4. Harsiesi son of Ramose. It happened that he
5. [to(?) Helio]polis (for) his people three times a month.
6. to him(?) [as he was(?)] considering a wicked offence(?)¹⁴
7. Harsiesi son of Ramose, the Chief Physician pondered(?)
8. "Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi pondered(?) on this.¹⁵ Then said
9. "Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi to him: "You are the Great One(?);¹⁶ let him, (namely) Pharaoh, the image of P-Rē^c, be preserved.¹⁷
10. . . . agreed [on] an evil design¹⁸ against Pharaoh. Pharaoh has done for you
11. many good things, [more than to(?)] all¹⁹ [the great men of(?)] the palace ; you were brought to the palace when you had
12. nothing in the world ; he caused you to be made Chief Physician ; he caused you to be given everything which belongs to the Chief Physician entirely ;
13. and he caused your brothers to be made priests without fine. Is what you are doing in return,²⁰ to have him killed ? " Said he: "Leave
14. me alone,²¹ "Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi. They are of no account,²² the things which you say. The Guards²³ and the Generals
15. and great men of the Palace are agreed, all of them, to do it." It happened that everything which
16. Harsiesi son of Ramose was saying to "Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi and which²⁴ "Onchsheshonqy said to him
17. in return²⁰—there was a man of the household²⁵ close by a place(?) where(?) he could hear²⁶ the voices of the two men, as if(?) they were speaking to him ;²⁷ Uahabrē^c-

^h Traces.

ⁱ⁻¹ The traces make the reading certain.

^j Probably nothing lost.

^k mš^c in the singular requires the vertical stroke (cf. 9/2 below), which here (and in 3/9) seems to do duty for the plural stroke as well.

^l Dittography.

^m The omission of the filiation after "nh-ššnqy occurs only in this phrase ; cf. 3/6. The dot low down after the vertical stroke at the end of "nh-ššnqy is perhaps the n we should expect before te-w šb.t at the beginning of l. 17.

ⁿ m certain at the beginning of this word, and the traces at the end suit the house-sign.

TRANSLITERATION

Column 2 (continued).

18. *mḥy sy Pth-e.ʔr-ty-s rn p rm rn-f wne [gr]ḥ sdr.t n t hyt^o.t*
19. *t knḥ.t nt e Pr-^o n.ʔm-s py ḥpr [. . .]^o sdr.t-f n t hyt^o.t t k-*
20. *t¹ knḥ.t nt e Pr-^o n.ʔm-s ḥpr [n]w(?)^p n p (sic) ty-wne 8.t grḥ*
21. *nhs Pr-^o glp-f ḥr-f ʕš-f dd [n]m(?)^p p nt bl wšb n-f Wh-ʔb-R^c-*
22. *mḥy sy Pth-e.ʔr-ty-s dd n-f Pr-^o ḥw [. . .]^a ḥw <n>t^o.t P-R^c ʔrme n ntr.w nt*

^o Probably the det. of time—read *grḥ*(?).

^p The tail of *m* is visible.

TRANSLATION

Column 2 (continued).

18. machy son of Ptahertais was the name of the man. It was his turn²⁸ that night (for) sleeping in the gatehouse
19. of the chapel where Pharaoh was ; and [that night(?)] he slept in the gatehouse of the
20. chapel where Pharaoh was. And it happened at the time(?) of the eighth hour of the night
21. that Pharaoh woke and uncovered his face and cried out, saying: “Who is outside ? ”. Uahabrēmachy
22. son of Ptahertais answered him. Pharaoh said to him : “Woe . . . woe at the hand of P-Rē^c and the Gods who are

^a Space for a short word between *ḥw . . . ḥw*. What appears to be the end of the tail of *f* probably belongs to the *f* of ʕš-*f* in the line above ; or possibly read <n>t^o.t-f in the lacuna.

Column 3.
(x + ?)

1. [. . .]^a t^(?)^b [. . . 1³/₈" . . .] e-y ʔr-f m-bh [. . . 1⁵/₈" . . .] e.ʔr [. . .] šn hr- [a.r-(?)]f
[. . .]t^(?)
2. [. . .] t wne [. . .] e.ʔr-f [. . .] e-f . . . [. . .] Hr-^co-ph^t e-f dd ʔn mte-y
3. w[d]^(?)^d ʔn m[te-y^(?)] wd Wh-^cb-R^c-mhy sy Pth-e.ʔr-ty-s [ʔn mte-(?)]y wd dd-f ʔr-k wd
⟨n-⟩t^(?) P-R^c ʔrme
4. n ntr.w nt ʔrme.f mte Nt-wry(.t) Mw.t^(?) t ntr.t ^co.t ty n h^s(.t).w n p t^c
5. tr-f hr-[r]^t Pr-^co tr.w sdy-f m-bh Pr-^co n (sic) mt.t nb a-stm-f hrw
6. Hr-sy-^cs sy [R^c-]ms e-f dd n.ʔm-w n ^cnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr ʔrme ne-dd n-f ^cnh-ššnqy
7. te-w šb.t e bn-^f[p-f ʔr m]t.t [nb^(?)^f ⟨n⟩] p t^c šb.t n.ʔm-w bn-p rh Pr-^co ʔnqy.t.k š^c
twe hpr
8. twe a t[e-f rs]ty hms Pr-^co n p wrh pr-Pr-^co^s n Mn-nfr
9. ^ch^c n s^cw.t.w [n^(?)] pe-w rte.t n mr-mš^c.w a ne-w ʔy.w n ^ch^c nw Pr-^co^s a p rte.t
10. ^ch^c n Hr-sy-^cs sy R^c-ms dd n-f Pr-^co Hr-sy-^cs sy R^c-ms e.ʔr-w ʔn.t-k^s a pr-Pr-^co
11. e mn-mte-k nk^c n p t^c te-y ʔr-w.t-k n wr syn te-y te-w n-k nt nb nt mte p wr syn
12. tr.w te-y ʔr-w ne-k sn.w w^cb ʔt tn ʔh p e.ʔr-k ʔr-k mte a-hr-y a ty^s htb-w.t-y
13. dd-f m-bh Pr-^co pe nb ^co p ssw hn.s e.ʔr P-R^c ʔr n-y p nt n-^cn-f^s te-f p ^cš-šhn nfr
14. Pr-^co n ht.t-y p ssw hn-s e.ʔr p-R^c ʔr n-y p nt n-thr-f te-f p ^cš-šhn^s bn
15. Pr-^co n ht.t-y dd n-f Pr-^co n mt.w n.te dd-w st n-k ʔn dd-k st e.ʔr-hr rm nb^s n p t^c dd-f
dd-y st
16. e.ʔr-hr ^cnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr w^c w^cb n P-R^c e-f ty n Mn-nfr ʔrme-y dd n-f Pr-^co ^cnh-

^a The [ʔrme-f] required as the first word of this column, after n ntr.w nt at the end of the last line of the previous column, is not impossible, as there is room for the tail of the -f in the gap, but is improbable; in which case one line at least must be missing above the present remains of this column.

^b Read [n p] t^c or [n-]t^c[.t] ?

^c Lower half of a short vertical stroke visible at the beginning of the line.

Column 3.
(x + ?)

1. "... the land(?) ... I will do it before [Pharaoh(?)]²⁹ ... intercede for(?) him ...
2. ... the hour ... he does (did?) ... he ... Har^capahte."³⁰ He said: " Shall I
3. be saved, shall I be saved, Uahabrē^cmachy son of Ptahertais, shall I be saved ? "
- He said: " You will be saved by the hand of P-Rē^c and
4. the Gods who are with him, and Neith-Oury, the Mother, the great Goddess
- shall³¹ place every cemetery³²
5. in the entire land beneath the feet of Pharaoh ". He related to Pharaoh every
- thing he had overheard
6. Harsiesi son of [Ra-]mose saying³³ to ^cOnchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi and what
- ^cOnchsheshonqy had said to him
7. in reply, without altering it by a single word.³⁴ Pharaoh was unable to sleep
- (more) till morning. The morning
8. of the next day came, and³⁵ Pharaoh took his seat in the hall³⁶ (of the) Royal
- Palace in Memphis.
9. The Guards²³ stood in their station³⁷ and the Generals in their ranks.³⁸ Pharaoh
- looked towards the accustomed
10. place³⁷ of Harsiesi son of Ramose. Pharaoh said to him: " Harsiesi son of
- Ramose, you were brought to the Royal Palace
11. when you had nothing in the world; I caused you to be appointed Chief Physician,
- and I caused you to be given everything which belonged to the Chief Physician
12. entirely, and I caused your brothers to be made priests without fine. What have
- you done,³⁹ conspiring against me to have me killed ? "
13. He said to Pharaoh: " My great Lord! On the day of commanding, if P-Rē^c
- was doing for me that which was good he put good fortune⁴⁰
14. for Pharaoh in my heart; on the day of commanding, if P-Rē^c was doing for
- me that which was grievous he put evil fortune
15. for Pharaoh in my heart." Pharaoh said to him: " The words which were said⁴¹
- to you—did you tell them to any one at all ? " He said: " I told them
16. to ^cOnchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi, a priest of P-Rē^c who is here in Memphis
- with me." Pharaoh said to him: " ^cOnch-

^d wd almost certain here, though slightly more elongated than in the other examples, owing to its position at the beginning of a line. The only alternative reading is stm, which gives no sense.

^e The long descender of t^c, very faintly visible immediately below line 4, ends in line 6.

^f Just room for ʔr mt.t nb, but not for mt mt.t nb.

^g Slight overlap at edge of joins.

Column 3 (continued)

17. *ššnqy sy Ty-nfr ḥ rm a.ṛ-k py dd-f pe-f yt wne p ʔry n pe yt py wne t bhn(?)*
18. *ht.t-f ʔrme-f m-šsⁱ(dd Pr-ʕo ʕnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr ḥ rm a.ṛ-k py dd-f pe-f yt)*
19. *(wne p ʔry pe yt py wne t bhn(?)) ht.t-f ʔrme-f m-šsⁱ dd Pr-ʕo my*
20. *ʔn-wⁱ ʕnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr ʔr-w ddy a Ty-nfr^k ʔr-w ddy e.ʔr-w ʔy e ʔn-wⁱ st*
21. *m-bh Pr-ʕo n ty hty dd n-f Pr-ʕo ʕnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr ʔn wnm-k*
22. *pe nk^ʔ stm-k te bn.t e bn-p-k ʔy a ty gm-y-s dd st sdny a.ṛ-k a htb.t-k*

ⁱ⁻¹ Dittography—repeating the whole of the immediately preceding passage from *dd* in line 16, except for the *n-f* after *dd*. Note brackets at end of line 18 and beginning of line 19, in addition to those marking off the beginning and end of the whole passage.

Column 3 (continued).

17. sheshonqy son of Tjainufi—what (manner of) man is he to you?" He said :
" His father was the friend of my father ; the . . .⁴²
18. of his heart was with him indeed." (Pharaoh said <to him>. "Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi—what (manner of) man is he to you ? " He said :
" His father)
19. (was the friend of my father ; the . . .⁴² of his heart was with him indeed ").
Pharaoh said : " Let
20. "Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi be fetched." They ran for <"Onchsheshonqy son of> Tjainufi, they ran, and returned bringing him
21. before Pharaoh on the instant.⁴³ Pharaoh said to him : "Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi, have you eaten
22. my bread and heard evil against me⁴⁴ and (yet) not come to inform me of it, saying ' They are conspiring against you to kill you ' ? "

^j The vertical stroke, always written at the end of ʔn, here does duty for the 3rd plur. suffix as well.

^k *Ty-nfr* is either a mistake for *ʕnh-ššnqy*, or *ʕnh-ššnqy sy* has been omitted by accident.

Column 4.

(x + ?)

1. [. . .] . ty ph-y a p(?) [. . .] ʔrme(?) rm nb nt mte-y(?) tr-w ʔn t nt [e.ʔr-k(?) ʔr-^a]f te-s
2. šb.t n ty htb-w-s ʔnh hr-k pe nb ʔo ʔr-y ʔ t.ʔ-y a.r-f bn-p-f^b dd n-y
3. wh wne e-y ʔr-rh^c dd mt.t e bn-e-w hpr Pr-ʔo ne t wne dd.t-w^b e.ʔr-f te
4. Pr-ʔo qt-w w^c.t hw^c.t ʔst hr r pr-Pr-ʔo te-f te-w Hr-sy-ʔs^b sy R^c-ms
5. p ʔh hmt ʔrme rm nb nt mte-f tr-w ʔrme rm nb e.ʔr-mte a p ʔš-shn bn Pr-ʔo^b te-f ty-w
6. ʔnh-ššngy sy Ty-nfr a n ʔy.w n hrr na-ʔm-p-nhs ʔp-w ʔtn^b ty-
7. šbt rm na-h-pr ʔs Pr-ʔo a.r-f hpr-f e hr ʔn-w t^ce-f hre.t a-hn^d(?) pr-Pr-ʔo
8. n-mne m-s ʔy hpr p h^c-nsw Pr-ʔo te Pr-ʔo w[y] a rm nb a-wne
9. n štq.w na-ʔm-p-nhs m-s ʔnh-ššngy sy Ty-nfr gb ht.t-f
10. etbe.t-s dd-f n p ty-šbt a-wne ʔp-w a.r-f my ʔr-w n-y na-mt-nfr.t^c e.ʔr-hr-k my ʔn-w n-y w^c
11. gšt ʔrme w^c dm^c etbe hpr wn-mte-y w^c h^c(m)-hl bn-p-y ph a.r-f a mter.t-f
12. sh-y n-f w^c.t mter.t te-y ty-w st a ʔWn a(?)^f mter.t-f n.ʔm-s dd p ty-šbt^b e-y ʔn-
13. smy n.ʔm-s m-bh Pr-ʔo a-h.t ʔr p ty-šbt ʔn-smy ʔn-smy^g
14. n.ʔm-s m-bh Pr-ʔo a-h.t hn-s Pr-ʔo dd my ty-w n-f gšt m-ʔr ty ty-w n-f
15. dm^c ty-w n-f gšt bn-p-w ty n-f dm^c sh-f hr n bld^c.w n hn.w n mt.w nt e-f rh
16. mter pe-f šr n.ʔm-w sh
17. tey-s t^c mter.t a-sh yt-ntr ʔnh-ššngy sy Ty-nfr mw.t-f S².t . . . Pth(?)^b pe-f šr hr n bld^c.w

^a Traces suit.

^b Edges slightly overlap at a join.

^c What appears to be -s after ʔr-rh is probably only a smudge.

^d Reading uncertain.

Column 4.

(x + ?)

1. "... 'cause me⁴⁵ to reach(?) the(?) ... and all and every man of mine(?). Is what you are doing in
2. return, to have him killed? ' By thy sight, my great Lord, I did everything in my power against him⁴⁶ ; but he would not give me
3. an answer. Had I been able to tell a thing, it would not have been hidden (from) Pharaoh." As soon as he had said this,⁴⁷ Pharaoh
4. caused an altar of earth to be built at the door of the Royal Palace. He caused Harsiesi son of Ramose to be placed in
5. the furnace of copper, together with all his people and every man who had conspired in the plot against Pharaoh.⁴⁸ Pharaoh caused 'Onchsheshonqy
6. son of Tjainufi to be taken to the Houses of Delay (called?) Na^campnehs.⁴⁹ A personal servant,⁵⁰ a staff-
7. bearer, a man of the household of⁵¹ Pharaoh was assigned to him ; and his food used to be brought in(?)⁵² from the Royal Palace
8. daily. After this there occurred the (anniversary of the) accession of Pharaoh. Pharaoh freed⁵³ every one who was
9. (in) the prisons (called?) Na^campnehs,⁴⁹ except 'Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi. His spirit sank
10. on account of it. He said to the attendant who was assigned to him : " Let a favour⁵⁴ be done to me by you⁵⁵ ; let me be brought a
11. writing-palette and a roll of papyrus, for it happens that I have a boy, whom I have not yet been able to instruct,⁵⁶
12. that I may write a (book of) instruction for him and that I may have it taken to Heliopolis to instruct him with it." The attendant said : " I will re-
13. port it before Pharaoh first." The attendant reported⁵⁷
14. it before Pharaoh first. Pharaoh commanded, saying, " Let him be taken a writing-palette, but do not let him be taken
15. a roll of papyrus." They took him a writing-palette, but they did not take him a roll of papyrus. He wrote on the pot-sherds the things in which he could
16. instruct his son. It is written.⁵⁸
17. See ! the Instructions which the Divine Father 'Onchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi, his mother being Sat- . . Ptah(?)^b . . , wrote (for) his son on the sherds

^e The .t of mt.t is omitted in the compound mt-nfr.t, as in the plural mt.w (l. 15 below).

^f The a has perhaps been written on top of the last stroke of the determinative 'Iwn.

^g Dittography, as there is already an object (n.ʔm-s) ; or translate " reported a report of it."

^b S².t certain, the rest doubtful.

Column 4 (continued).

18. *n hn.w a-wne e-w ty.t-w n-f a-hn hr mtk e-f dth n cy.w hrr na-^cm-p-nhs e-f*
19. *dd hbr syt pe nb co ʔy P-R^c dth hbr p e.ʔr-w n-y etbe hpr bn-p-y*
20. *htb rm te-k bty.t ty pe nb co ʔy P-R^c ʔn n p gy h^cr a ts nt e P-R^c ʔr-f py ʔy*
21. *n rm.w nt e-w gm n bld^c.w n hn.w stm n.ʔm-y n p gy n h^cr a ts nt e P-R^c ʔr-f*

Column 4 (continued).

18. of the jars which were brought in to him containing mixed wine,⁵⁹ while he was imprisoned in the Houses of Delay (called?) Na^campnehs,
19. saying, "Oppression⁶⁰ and misfortune, my great Lord P-Rē^c ! Imprisonment and oppression are what I have experienced in return for not having
20. killed⁶¹ a man. It is a crime against thee,⁶² my great Lord, P-Rē^c. Is this the way (in which) P-Rē^c shows his anger against a land?⁶³ Oh
21. you people who shall find these potsherds, listen to me concerning the way (in which) P-Rē^c shows his anger against a land ! "

Column 5.
(x + ?)^a

1. [ne P-R^c h^cr] a tš e-f ty [. . .] e bw-²r-f [. . .]-f^b
2. [ne] P-R^c h^cr a tš e pe-f hry h^c p hp
3. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ty lg-s hp hn-f
4. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ty lg-s w^cb hn-f
5. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ty lg-s mt.t m^c.t hn-f
6. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ty sbk š^cr hn-f
7. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš bw-²r-f ty ²r-w nhte.t h[n]-f
8. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš bw-²r-f ty ty-w s²t sh(?)^c . . . [h]n-f^c
9. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ty cy ne-f rm.w hm.w e-f ty hm [ne-f] rm.w cy.w
10. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ty n lh.w hry n sb².w
11. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f hn-s n pe-f hry a ty bn n²e-f rm.w
12. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ²r pe-f sh n shn a.r-f
13. ne P-R^c h^cr a tš e-f ²r pe-f rh.t n tdme(?)
14. m-s n²y n mt.w a-wne ^cnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr sh n.²m-w hr
15. n bld^c.w n hn.w a-wne e-w ty.t-w n-f a-hn hr mtk a ty-st
16. n sb².t n pe-f šr e-w ^cn-smy n.²m-w m-bh Pr-^co ²rme
17. n²e-f rm.w cy.w n-mne gm ^cnh-ššnqy sy Ty-nfr
18. p hpr e-f ²sk e-f dth e bn-p-w wy a.r-f
19. sh-f hr n bld^c.w n hn.w n mt.w nt e-f rh mter pe-f šr n.²m-w sh

^a Probably at least one line lost.

^b Probably [hn]-f, with one word lost after e bw-²r-f.

Column 5.
(x + ?)

1. [When P-Rē^c is angry] with a land he causes . . . and does not . . . [in?] it.
2. [When] P-Rē^c is angry with a land its ruler neglects the laws.⁶⁴
3. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he causes law⁶⁴ to cease in it.
4. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he causes sanctity⁶⁵ to cease in it.
5. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he causes justice⁶⁶ to cease in it.
6. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he causes values⁶⁷(?) to fall in it.
7. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he does not allow confidence to be placed in it.(?)⁶⁸
8. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he does not allow a scribe(?) to be ransomed(?)⁶⁹ in it.
9. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he exalts its humble people and humbles its mighty⁷⁰ people.
10. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he puts the fools over the wise⁷¹ men.
11. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he orders its ruler to do evil <to> its people.⁷²
12. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he appoints its scribe to minister to it.⁷²
13. When P-Rē^c is angry with a land he appoints its washerman . . .⁷³
14. Hereafter the words which ^cOnchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi wrote on
15. the sherds of the jars which were brought in to him containing mixed wine, to give them
16. as a Teaching to his son ; they being reported before Pharaoh and
17. his great men daily. (For) ^cOnchsheshonqy son of Tjainufi realised⁷⁴
18. that he was (doomed to) linger in prison⁷⁵ since they had not released him ;
19. (and) he wrote on the pot sherds the things in which he could instruct his son.
It is written.⁵⁸

^{c-c} sh not quite certain, and one word (probably not more) is lost after it. hn-f certain.

Column 6.

(x + ?)^a

1. š[ms] [pe-]k(?) ntr(?)^b ʔr-f n-k tym
2. šms ne-k sn.w hpr n-k syt^c nfr
3. šms rm-rh ʔr-f šms.t-k
4. šms p nt e-f šms.t-k
5. šms rm nb gm-k p šw
6. šms pe-k yṯ te-k mw.t šm-k ʔr-k mnḥ
7. šn a mt.t nb rh-k st
8. hm b².t ʕw-n-ht.t ʕne ht.t-k
9. e.ʔr sb².t nb hpr m-s ty-my.t
10. m-ʔr h^c ht.t-k a p nk² n ky dd^d e-y ʕnh n.ʔm-f my hpr n-k h^c-k^e
11. m-ʔr hbr ʔr-k n-nfr bw-ʔr-k n-bn
12. m-ʔr hb ʕnte-t(?) n pe-k hb e.ʔr-s šm pe-s h^c-s
13. m-ʔr hb rm-rh n mt.t hm.t e wn mt.t ʕo.t h^c
14. m-ʔr hb lh n mt.t ʕo.t e wn rm-rh e.ʔr-k rh hb-f
15. m-ʔr hb a(?)^f tme e.ʔr-k(?)^f gm ʔsy n.ʔm-f
16. m-ʔr mr pe-k pr ʔr-k hb
17. m-ʔr mr pe-k pr a swr hmq.t n.ʔm-f mre^g
18. m-ʔr mky ne-k ef.w bw-ʔr-k hsy
19. m-ʔr mky.t-k ʔr-k hl bw-ʔr-k hsy ʔr-k ʕ(-ms?)
20. m-ʔr mst rm a hr-f e bw-ʔr-rh-k mt.t mte-f
21. m-ʔr mr e wn-mte-k
22. m-ʔr mkh-k e wn-mte-k
23. m-ʔr mr mt.t
24. m-ʔr mr pe-k gy n ʔr-yp.t

^a Slight trace of a missing line above the y of tym.^b Traces suit [pe-]k ntr.^c syt certain ; I owe the reading to Klasens.^d The lower sign in dd has an extra short stroke added to the tail, as elsewhere.^e The faint vertical stroke at the end of the line must be the ascender of h^c.

Column 6.

(x + ?)

1. Serve⁷⁶ your God (?) that he may protect you.
2. Serve your brothers, that you may have a good reputation.
3. Serve a wise man, that he may serve you.
4. Serve him who serves you.
5. Serve any man in order to find profit.
6. Serve your father and your mother, that you may go and prosper.⁷⁷
7. Enquire about everything that you may understand it.
8. Be good-tempered and magnanimous, that your disposition may be attractive.⁷⁸
9. All teaching comes (only) after the development of character(?).⁷⁹
10. Do not set your heart on the property of another, saying "I will live thereon" ; acquire (your property) yourself.
11. When you fare well, do not be anxious lest you fare badly.
12. Do not send(?) . . . from(?) your work(?), it will go(?) of its own.⁸⁰
13. Do not consult a wise man in a small matter when a large matter is to hand.
14. Do not consult a fool in a large matter when there is a wise man whom you can consult.
15. Do not work(?) in(?) a town ; you will find trouble there.⁸¹
16. Do not long for your home when you are working.
17. Do not long for your home, to drink beer in it at mid-day.⁸²
18. Do not pamper your body, lest you become slack.⁸³
19. Do not pamper yourself when you are young, lest you become slack when you are grown-up.⁸⁴
20. Do not dislike a man on sight⁸⁵ if you do not know anything about him.
21. Do not be distressed⁸⁶ so long as you have (something).
22. Do not be worried so long as you have (something).
23. Do not be put out by thing(s).⁸⁷
24. Do not be dissatisfied with your occupation.

^{f-f} No other reading seems possible. The horizontal stroke of the first sign in tme is always at least twice as long as the oblique stroke. Here the middle of the horizontal stroke has been rubbed away ; see 18/10 for an even longer horizontal stroke in tme. The writing of e.ʔr-k is quite abnormal.^g A displaced horizontal fibre has broken the continuous line of the second sign in mre. For undamaged writings of the word see 14/11 and 22/9.

Column 7.
(x + ?)

1. m²y(?) [. . .] (rest lost)
2. hte-t [a(?) pe-k šr(?)] m²r hte-t a.[r]-f(?)^a [n(?)] pe-k bk
3. m²r h^c [t(?)] yp.t p bk <n> pe-k šr e.²r-k rh ty ²r-f-s
4. m²r mter^b lh bw²r-f mst.t-k
5. m²r mter p nt e bn-e-f stm n-k
6. m²r h^c ht.t-k a lh
7. m²r h^c ht.t-k a p nk² rm swg
8. m²r qpe mte-k ty gm-w.t-k
9. m²r qpe e mn-mte-k hre.t
10. p nt qpe e mn-mte-f hre.t e-f t s.t p nt wh-f
11. m²r šm n-k mte-k ²y h^c-k
12. m²r šm n-k m-s mhy.t-k e.²r-w bw²r-w qb pe-k btw
13. m²r wstn p ^co a.²r-k
14. m²r hrr a šms pe-k ntr
15. m²r hrr a šms pe-k hry
16. m²r hrr a šms p nt e-f šms.t-k
17. m²r hrr a ty hpr n-k bk bk.t e.²r-k rh ²r-s
18. bk e bw²r-w mhy.t-f n^c shw n ht.t-f
19. rm hm e n^co te-f b².t n^cš² t²e-f hnš.t
20. rm ^co e n-hm te-f b².t n^cš² t²e-f hs.t
21. m²r dd hl a p e.²r-^cw
22. m²r ty hm p e.²r-^cw n ht.t-k
23. m²r ys^c ²r-k mt.t bw²r-k hwš
24. m²r dd t nt e.e-s pr n ht.t-k n ty hty

^a a.r-f possible ; not n-f.

^b Not a lh ; the short oblique stroke is part of the determinative of mter.

Column 7.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. Put compulsion (yourself) [upon your son ?] ; do not put him under compulsion⁸⁸ to(?) your servant.
3. Do not leave the servant's work to your son, if you can make him (the servant) do it.
4. Do not instruct a fool, lest he hate you.
5. Do not instruct him who will not listen to you.
6. Do not bother⁸⁹ about a fool.
7. Do not bother about the property of an idiot.⁹⁰
8. Do not deceive⁹¹ and be found out.
9. Do not conceal (the fact) if you have no food ;
10. he who conceals (the fact) when he has no food will go without.⁹²
11. Do not be too independent.⁹³
12. Do not run away after you have been beaten, lest your punishment be doubled.
13. Do not take liberties with your superior.
14. Do not neglect to serve your God.
15. Do not neglect to serve your master.
16. Do not neglect to serve him who serves you.
17. Do not neglect to acquire a man-servant and a maid-servant when you can afford them.
18. A servant who is not beaten is full of scorn.⁹⁴
19. The little man who behaves arrogantly⁹⁵ is greatly detested.
20. The great man who behaves modestly is highly respected.^{95a}
21. Do not say " young man " to one who has grown up.
22. Do not despise⁹⁶ a man who has grown up.
23. Do not speak hastily lest you give offence.
24. Do not say the first thing that comes into your head.⁹⁷

^c A small flake of papyrus overlaps the lower half of the last stroke of the s.

Column 8.
(x + ?)

1. *m-ʔr . . . -k . . .*
2. *sbʔ.t swg ʔrme ne-[pe-k(?)^a] tme my ʕy.w ne-pe-k^b tme n ht.t-k*
3. *m-ʔr dd n-sbʔ-y t y.t-k^c a.ʔr-k a rh*
4. *m-ʔr ʔr mt.t e bn-p-k šn n.ʔm-s [n]^d t h.t*
5. *pe-k ʕš-šhn nfr šn*
6. *ʔr-k šn rm rh s g a w^c.t mt.t e-s m-šs n ph pr ntr ʕo*
7. *e.ʔry t nfr.t ne-k ef.w n-ħm ssw nfr*
8. *mn p nt e bw-ʔr-f mwt*
9. *m-ʔr st.t-k m-s sh e-w t y n.ʔm-f a n ʕy.w hrr*
10. *ʔr-k st.t-k m-s-f e-w t y n.ʔm-f a t^e-f hw.t nhe*
11. *m-ʔr dd qnbe.t ʔrme p ʕo a.ʔr-k e mn mte-k nht.t [a.ʔr]-f*
12. *m-ʔr ʔr n-k s-ħm.t e pe-s hy ʕnh bw-ʔr-f ʔr n-k ʔry-ddy*
13. *hns p ssw wnf p ssw hr ʕš² nk² rn hr-f*
14. *bn-e hpr pe-k šy p šy p nt tbh mte-w ty n-f*
15. *ʔr-k ʔr yp.t n sh(.t) m-ʔr mky ne-k ef.w*
16. *m-ʔr dd tey-s p ht n pe sn e.ʔr-k nw a pe-k h^c-k*
17. *rnn.t n tme hry e-f ʔr wpy.t*
18. *rnn.t hw.t-ntr w^cb*
19. *rnn.t ht hp-f n ʔr yp.t*
20. *rnn.t r sw.t-k-f*
21. *rnn.t pr-ht hm.t (n-)t².t*
22. *rnn.t nk² s-ħm.t rm-rh.t*
23. *rnn.t rm rh r-f*

^a The break is a little large for *pe-k* only, judging by the space occupied by *pe-k* towards the end of the line.^b The papyrus is displaced at both breaks, but *pe-k* is certain.Column 8.
(x + ?)

1. Do not . . .
2. The teaching of an idiot belongs to(?) the people of [your neighbourhood?]; let the people of your neighbourhood be high in your estimation.⁹⁸
3. Do not say 'I am learned'; set yourself to learn.
4. Do not do a thing which you have not enquired about beforehand^{98a}:
5. it is your business⁹⁹ to enquire;
6. if you enquire (of) three wise men¹⁰⁰ about a matter, it will certainly reach the house of the Great God.
7. Enjoy your youth; the holiday is short;¹⁰¹
8. there is no man who does not die.
9. Do not follow after a scribe when they take him to prison;
10. follow after him when they take him to his tomb.¹⁰²
11. Do not take legal action against your superior unless you are sure of success.¹⁰³
12. Do not marry a wife whose husband is alive, lest you make for yourself an enemy.
13. In fair weather or foul, wealth increases (only) by making the most of it.¹⁰⁴
14. (Good) fortune will not happen to you; (good) fortune is given to him who seeks it.¹⁰⁵
15. When you work on the land do not pamper your body.
16. Do not say 'Look! my brother's acre' but look to your own.¹⁰⁶
17. The blessing of a district is a lord who executes justice.
18. The blessing of a temple is a priest.
19. The blessing of an acre is the actual working of it.¹⁰⁷
20. The virtue of a store-house is in stocking it.¹⁰⁸
21. The virtue of a safe is cash in hand.
22. The blessing of property is a prudent woman.
23. The blessing of a wise man is his speech.

^c *dd.t-k* is impossible.^d No trace of *n*, but there is space for it, and a missing fibre of the papyrus may have removed it.

TRANSLITERATION

Column 9.
(x + ?)

1. *rnn.t . . .* [rest of line lost]
2. *rnn.t n mš^c mr(?)^a*
3. *rnn.t n tme tm ty ry.t*
4. *rnn.t hm te-f sbt.t*
5. *m-ʔr sš dm^c e-f m-s-k*
6. *m-ʔr sš phr e hr ʔr-k-s*
7. *m-ʔr sš mt.t Pr-^co*
8. *m-ʔr sš mt.t e-s ph a ʔh.t*
9. *p nt ʔy sš mt.t e.ʔr-f mwt n.ʔm-s*
10. *m-ʔr tn̄ n mt.t ʔr-k ʔd.t n.ʔm-s*
11. *m-ʔr dd pe yh rt m-ʔr ʔr-wš mšt.t-f*
12. *m-ʔr hms a ʔy ʔrme ne-k šmw.t.w*
13. *m-ʔr ʔr tše a hry-k*
14. *m-ʔr dd sk-y t(?)^b sh(.t) bn-p-w ʔr . . . sk ʔn n-nfr sk*
15. *n-ʔn hr p e.ʔr-ʔn a hry n sh(.t) a p e.ʔr-wrš^c p tme*
16. *m-ʔr dd šm^d py wn-mte-f pr.t*
17. *p nt e bw-ʔr-f ty ht šm bw-ʔr-f hm-f n pr.t*
18. *m-ʔr hms n ʔy e bn-e ne-nk² ph-k n.ʔm-f*
19. *m-ʔr gyl pe-k nk² a ʔy a^c hw*
20. *m-ʔr h^c pe-k nk² n ʔy a^c w^c.t-f*
21. *m-ʔr h^c pe-k nk² n tme ʔr-k hb a.r-f*
22. *hr ty nk² pe-f nb*
23. *p nb t ʔh.t p nt ph a shst(?)*
24. *m-ʔr ʔr he e bn-p-k smne pe-k r*
25. *ʔr-k ʔr he a-h^c p nt mte-k*

^a No trace after the break in the papyrus, so that the line almost certainly ended with *mr(?)*. *mr[-f]* is not possible.

^b Hardly *a* or *n*.

^c Intrusive *n* over *wrš* (see Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, p. 101*, § 73). Cf. next note.

TRANSLATION

Column 9.
(x + ?)

1. The blessing [of . . . (rest lost)]
2. The blessing of an army(?) is a general(?)
3. The blessing of a village is not taking sides.¹⁰⁹
4. The blessing of a craftsman is his tools.
5. Do not disdain a document which supports you.¹¹⁰
6. Do not disdain a remedy which you are accustomed to use.
7. Do not neglect Pharaoh's business.¹¹¹
8. Do not neglect a matter if it concerns a cow.
9. The man who frequently neglects affairs will perish as a result.
10. Do not argue^{111a} over a matter in which you are at fault.
11. Do not say "My land flourishes"; do not fail to inspect(?)¹¹² it.
12. Do not live with your family-in-law(?).¹¹³
13. Do not act the neighbour to your master.
14. Do not say "I have ploughed the field" unless it has been(?) . . .¹¹⁴ Plough again; it is good to plough.
15. He who has brought (produce) is more welcome to the Lord of the land than he who has spent the day in the village.
16. Do not say "It is summer"; there is the winter (to come).^{114a}
17. He who does not gather wood in summer will not be warm in winter.
18. Do not live in a house where owners of property(?)¹¹⁵ will not find(?) you.
19. Do not entrust your wealth to a house for profit.¹¹⁶
20. Do not put your wealth into a house only(?).¹¹⁷
21. Do not leave your wealth in a village; send for it(?).¹¹⁸
22. Wealth takes charge of(?)¹¹⁹ its owner.
23. The owner of a cow is he who is fit to(?) run after(?)¹²⁰ (it).
24. Do not undertake expense¹²¹ until you have set up your storehouse.
25. Undertake expense¹²¹ according to your means.¹²²

^d Intrusive *n* over *šm*.

^e Or *n*.

^f The stroke may be a continuation of the last stroke of the determinative of *ʔy*, in which case omit *a*.

Column 10.

(x + ?)

1. *m-ʔr dd [. . .] -y^a [. . .]*
2. *m-ʔr dd n-nfr-y sh mte-k tm(?) [. . .]-k(?) [. . .]*
3. *sh whr.t hm n mre(?)*
4. *ʔne msh wnh e te-f šf^c.t hy^b*
5. *bw-ʔr msh mwt n stl e-ʔr-f mwt n hq²*
6. *hwš a-hr-y p nt e-w ʔr-f hr-f n p lh e-w mter.t-f*
7. *drp-k a rte.t-k n cy n rm-^co bn-e drp-k a ls-k*
8. *e-w hwy.t-k [a(?)]-bl-n p cy pe-k hry e-ʔry n-f mnt*
9. *e-f hpr e pe-k hry hms a-hr p yr m-ʔr*
- 10.^c *thb t².t-k m-bh-f*
11. *hmy e pe sn pa-n hte.w e-f ts te-y . . t^c(?)*
12. *hmy e pe ʔry dd m rh Thwt*
13. *hmy e bn-e-f mwt p nt e-y pgy n-f pe ʔb*
14. *hmy e p sn ^co p tme p nt e-w hn-f n-f*
15. *hmy e p sn n^c.t n t mhw.t p nt ʔr n-s sn ^co*
16. *hmy e wn-mte-y e wn-mte pe sn wnm-y pe-y e^d bn-p-y dm*
17. *hmy e bw-ʔr p mw ʔr-wš ʔy^e*
18. *hmy e bw-ʔr t sh(.t) ʔr-wš wt^t*
19. *hmy e p yh bn t sh(.t) p nt rt n sm n hw*
20. *hmy e-ʔr sty.t šp pe-s k²*
21. *hmy e-ʔr šr tn a pe-f yt*
22. *hmy e šr hry p nt ʔr hry*
23. *hmy e te mw.t te nšy.t ʔr-s n-y p nt n-^cn-f*
24. *hmy e-ʔr ʔch šp p-r^c e bw-ʔr-f ʔr-wš h^c*
25. *hmy e hr hpr šp p mwt*

^a Perhaps ^cnh before the second break.^b Nothing lost after the determinative of hy.^c Really a continuation of line 9, starting more than half-way across the column.

Column 10.

(x + ?)

1. Do not say . . .
2. Do not say "I am good (at) writing", and be not(?)¹²³ . . .
3. A scribe in a workshop, a craftsman on a dock-side(?).¹²⁴
4. When a crocodile surfaces its length is measured.¹²⁵
5. A crocodile does not die in a papyrus thicket, it dies from hunger.¹²⁶
6. "It irks me what they do," says the fool, when he is instructed.¹²⁷
7. If you stumble with your foot in the house of the rich man, you will not stumble with your tongue.
8. If you are thrown out of the house of your master, be his door-keeper.¹²⁸
9. When your master sits facing the river do not
10. wrinse your hands¹²⁹ before him.
11. Oh may my brother be the groom, that he may raise my prestige(?)¹³⁰
12. Oh may my companion say "See, Thoth knows!"¹³¹
13. Oh may he not die to whom I have opened my heart!
14. Oh may the 'elder brother'¹³² of the village be the one who is summoned to represent it!
15. Oh may the kindly brother of the family be the one who acts as 'elder brother'¹³² for it!
16. Oh may I have (plenty) and my brother have (plenty), that I may eat my own without having struggled for it.¹³³
17. Oh may the flood-water not fail to arrive!
18. Oh may the fields not fail to be green!
19. Oh may the poor plot of land be the one which grows fodder in abundance!¹³⁴
20. Oh may a cow receive her bull!¹³⁵
21. Oh may a son live as long¹³⁶ as his father!
22. Oh may a son of (the?) master be the one to be master!
23. Oh may my mother be my hair-dresser(?), that she may do for me that which is pleasant!¹³⁷
24. Oh may the moon succeed the sun and not fail to rise!
25. Oh may life always succeed death!¹³⁸

^d The second stroke of e is broken.^e Intrusive n over ʔy.

Column 11.

(x + ?)

1. *hmy e-y hwy n p [. . .] e [. . .]*
2. *hmy e-y swtn t²-t-y a pe d[. . .] ne-šp-w(?)*
3. *hmy e-y ʔr-rh pe hn(?) te-y n-f pe nk²(?)^a [. . .]*
4. *hmy e-y ʔr-rh pe sn wn-y ht.t-y a.r-f*
5. *m-ʔr ʕšy šht bw-ʔr-k w^cy*
6. *m-ʔr ʕšy^b th bw-ʔr-k lby*
7. *e.ʔry n-k hm.t ʔr-k ʕh^c mp(.t) 20.t hpr n-k šr ʔr-k hl*
8. *m-ʔr htb hf mte-k h^c st.t-f*
9. *m-ʔr hwy nw e bn-e.ʔr-k rh mh.t ph.t-f*
10. *p nt ty šm hf a t p.t e.ʔr-f hy a-hr-f*
11. *šmy.t rm te-f mhw.t*
12. *šmy.t rm te-f šbrt*
13. *šmy.t rm a hr-f*
14. *šmy.t rm w^c.t ʕy.t n.ʔm-f ty*
15. *p why e.ʔr-f hwy n mr(.t) e bw-ʔr-rh-f dd p ntr p nt wt a ʕy nb*
16. *m-ʔr ph n rhy hr m².t dd te-y ʔr-šhy n ʕy.w bw-ʔr-rh-k ht.t ne-w rm.w*
17. *s²wt hwr^c šbyn pe-f šr*
18. *m-ʔr ty ty-rte.t pe-k ʕo a t bny.t bw-ʔr-f ʔr ne-s nyn.w*
19. *m-ʔr sby ʔrme pe-k šr e.ʔr-hr te-f mw.t bw-ʔr-rh-k ʕ pe-f yt*
20. *bn-e.ʔr-w ms k² k² ʔn*
21. *m-ʔr dd p hbt n p ntr ʕnh n p-hw e.ʔr-k nw a phw*
22. *ʔr-k dd šy nfr a phw n ʔw.t*
23. *h^c pe-k ʕš-šhn n(?)^c ʕ p ntr.*

^a Probably nothing lost after *nk²*.^b The dot over the horizontal stroke of the *y* in *ʕšy* is probably a slip of the pen, as also is the sign like *ʔn* over the *y* in *ʕšy* in the next line.

Column 11.

(x + ?)

1. Oh may I go . . .
2. Oh may I direct(?) my hand towards my . . . for(?) what has been received.
3. Oh may I get to know my boon-companion,¹³⁹ that I may give him my property !
4. Oh may I get to know my brother, that I may open my heart¹⁴⁰ to him !
5. Do not make yourself too offensive, lest you be insulted.
6. Do not continually be drunk, lest you go mad.
7. Marry a wife when you are twenty years old, that you may have a son while you are young.¹⁴¹
8. Do not kill a snake and leave its tail.
9. Do not hurl a lance(?) if you are not able to control its flight.¹⁴²
10. He who raises a dyke to the sky—it will fall upon him.¹⁴³
11. A man's (own) personality¹⁴⁴ is his family.
12. A man's personality is his strength(?).¹⁴⁵
13. A man's personality (shows) in his face.
14. A man's personality—it is one of his members.¹⁴⁶
15. The fisherman casts off from shore,¹⁴⁷ without being able to say " God will dispense to every house ".¹⁴⁸
16. Do not stay out till evening on the road, saying " I am sure of the houses ". You do not know the mind of their inmates.
17. A guard who robs—his son is a poor man.¹⁴⁹
18. Do not let your donkey kick at the palm tree lest he shake down its fruit(?).¹⁵⁰
19. Do not laugh at your son in the presence of his mother lest you learn the unimportance(?)¹⁵¹ of his father ;
20. a bull is not born of a bull.
21. Do not say " The sinner(?)¹⁵² against God lives to-day ", but look to the end.¹⁵³
22. Say (rather) " A fortunate fate is at the end of old age ".¹⁵⁴
23. Put your affairs in the hands of God.

^c A very short *n* seems to run into the long base of *ʕ*.

TRANSLITERATION

Column II.
(x + ?)

1. *hmy e-y hwy n p [. . .] e [. . .]*
2. *hmy e-y swtn t².t-y a pe d[. . .] ne-šp-w(?)*
3. *hmy e-y ʔr-rh pe hn(?) te-y n-f pe nk²(?)^a [. . .]*
4. *hmy e-y ʔr-rh pe sn wn-y ht.t-y a.r-f*
5. *m-ʔr ʕšy šht bw-ʔr-k w^cy*
6. *m-ʔr ʕšy^b th bw-ʔr-k lby*
7. *e.ʔry n-k hm.t ʔr-k ʕh^c rnp(.t) 20.t hpr n-k šr ʔr-k hl*
8. *m-ʔr htb hf mte-k h^c st.t-f*
9. *m-ʔr hwy nw e bn-e.ʔr-k rh mh.t ph.t-f*
10. *p nt ty šm hf a t p.t e.ʔr-f hy a-hr-f*
11. *šmy.t rm te-f mhw.t*
12. *šmy.t rm te-f šbrt*
13. *šmy.t rm a hr-f*
14. *šmy.t rm w^c.t ʕy.t n.ʔm-f ty*
15. *p why e.ʔr-f hwy n mr(.t) e bw-ʔr-rh-f dd p ntr p nt wt a ʕy nb*
16. *m-ʔr ph n rhy hr m².t dd te-y ʔr-šhy n ʕy.w bw-ʔr-rh-k ht.t ne-w rm.w*
17. *s²wt hwr^c šbyn pe-f šr*
18. *m-ʔr ty ty-rte.t pe-k ʕo a t bny.t bw-ʔr-f ʔr ne-s nyn.w*
19. *m-ʔr sby ʔrme pe-k šr e.ʔr-hr te-f mw.t bw-ʔr-rh-k ʕ pe-f yt*
20. *bn-e.ʔr-w ms k² k² ʔn*
21. *m-ʔr dd p hbt n p ntr ʕnh n p-hw e.ʔr-k nw a phw*
22. *ʔr-k dd šy nfr a phw n ʔw.t*
23. *h^c pe-k ʕš-šhn n(?)^c ʕ p ntr.*

^a Probably nothing lost after nk².

^b The dot over the horizontal stroke of the y in ʕy is probably a slip of the pen, as also is the sign like ʔn over the y in ʕy in the next line.

TRANSLATION

Column II.
(x + ?)

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18. Do not let your donkey kick at the palm tree lest he shake down its fruit(?).¹⁵⁰
19. Do not laugh at your son in the presence of his mother lest you learn the unimportance(?)¹⁵¹ of his father ;
20. a bull is not born of a bull.
21. Do not say " The sinner(?)¹⁵² against God lives to-day ", but look to the end.¹⁵³
22. Say (rather) " A fortunate fate is at the end of old age ".¹⁵⁴
23. Put your affairs in the hands of God.

^c A very short n seems to run into the long base of ʕ.

Column 12.

(x + ?)^a

1. m-²r h[. . .]t(?) . . . k[. . .]
2. m-²r ty hpr pe-k sd[yh(?)e bw-²r-k(?)]^b mr
3. bw-²r-rh rm ne-f ss(w).w yt
4. m-²r hn pe-k n(?) n p nt e bn-p-f šp st-tb
5. m-²r hrr a ty hpr n-k hw.t hr p tw bw-²r-rh-k ^c pe-k ^ch^c
6. m-²r ²r mt.t bn.t n rm a ty ²r-s n-k ky
7. m-²r š^ct n ht.t n p nt e.²r-k rh šn.t-f
8. n-nfr ht.t-f n p e.²r ²r wpy.t e.²r-hr rm rh
9. hry rm-rh e-f šn hr smn pe-f pr š^c dt
10. hr te dlh šk rm ^co
11. btw ^co e wn h.t-f p nt e-w bty.t-f
12. bw-²r yp.t n lh hpr n ^cy e wn rm rh n.²m-f
13. my nw te-k hm.t a pe-k nk² m-²r nhte.t-s a.r-f
14. m-²r nhte.t-s a pe-s spte w^c.t rnp(.t)
15. bn-p pe sn dm a dwy bn-p-y dm a snh-f
16. m-²r tb m-²r ty tb-w.t-k
17. my ph te-k mt.t nfr.t a p nt yt n.²m-s
18. m-²r hns bw-²r nk² ²r ²we.t
19. hry mr-rm e.²r-f htb a hr
20. p htb rm-rh bn-p-w htb.t-f
21. m-²r šm n mt.t e bn-e.²r-k rh ²r-s
22. m-²r dd hrw n-nht n rm e bn-e.²r-k rh ty gby-f n.²m-f
23. n-hy hrw-f n p e.²r ²r n-te hn-w n-f
24. m-²r dd mt.t e bn-e pe-s š ²n py.

^a A possible trace of a line above at the top right hand corner of the column.

Column 12.

(x + ?)

1. Do not . . .
2. Do not boa[st(?) because you are not] in trouble.¹⁵⁵
3. No man knows his days of misfortune.¹⁵⁶
4. Do not entrust(?) your gift(?) to one who has not experienced want.
5. Do not delay to get yourself a tomb on the hill ; you do not know the length of your life.
6. Do not do evil to a man and so cause another to do it to you.
7. Do not be hard-hearted towards a man if you can intercede for him.
8. He is a good-hearted man who does justice¹⁵⁷ in the presence of a wise man.
9. The wise master who is merciful¹⁵⁸—his house is established for ever.
10. Ruin overcomes the rich man ;¹⁵⁹
11. he is punished for some great crime which was before his time.
12. Foolishness does not occur in a house where a wise man is.
13. Let your wife regard your wealth ;¹⁶⁰ do not trust her with it.
14. Do not trust her (even) with her provisions¹⁶¹ for one year.
15. So long as my brother did not struggle(?)¹³³ to rob I did not struggle(?)¹³³ to restrain him.
16. Do not punish (and) do not let yourself be punished.
17. Let your good deed reach him who has need of it.
18. Do not be mean ; wealth is no security.¹⁶²
19. Even the benevolent master will kill to please (himself).
20. The prudent killer—they have not killed him.^{162a}
21. Do not attempt something which you cannot perform.
22. Do not make a vehement accusation against a man if you cannot make him give way.¹⁶³
23. Let him protest who has done what has been commanded to him.¹⁶⁴
24. Do not make a statement if it is not the time for it.¹⁶⁵

^b The gap which begins above the bn-p-f in line 4 is too wide, but was necessitated by remounting to avoid an overlap which hid some signs lower down the column.

Column 13.

(x + ?)

1. m-[ʔr](?) [. . .] [n-b(?)]n-k
2. rm^a rḥ p nt wḥ . . . wḥ ddy
3. p e.ʔr-w n-f mt.t nfr.t a-ḥ.t bn-e-f rḥ ty šp n-s
4. bn šy ʔbyn . . bḥr.ʔ(?)
5. m-ʔr ty pe-k šr t mn-ʔry.t a ty ḥwy-s^b pe-s
6. ʔry n ḥḥ ḥḥ ʔry rm rḥ rm rḥ
7. ʔry rm-swg rm-swg
8. t mw.t t nt ms t m.ʔ.t t nt ty ʔry
9. ḥr te rm nb ḥpr nk^ʔ rm rḥ p nt rḥ ʔrd-f
10. m-ʔr ty pe-k nk^ʔ <n>ʔ.t pe-k sn ḥm a ty ʔr-f n-k sn ʔo n.ʔm-f
11. m-ʔr mr w^c e.ʔr-ḥr w^c ne-k ḥrḫ.w bw-ʔr-rḥ-k p nt e-f n^c n-k n.ʔm-w
12. ʔr-k gm te-k ḥm.t ʔrme pe-s nyk ty n-k šlt a-ḥ šw
13. m-ʔr ty ḥpr šms.t n te-k ḥm.t e mn-mte-k stm-ʔš
14. m-ʔr ty ḥpr n-k ḥrw 2
15. a.ddy mt.t m^c.t n rm nb my šbn-s r-k
16. m-ʔr wn ḥt.ʔ-k a te-k ḥm.t ne-dd.k n-s st p ḥyr
17. m-ʔr wn ḥt.ʔ-k a te-k ḥm.t pe-k stm-ʔš
18. ʔr-k wn-f a te-k mw.t ʔr^cr.t ty s-ḥm.t
19. s-ḥm.t pe-s ʔš-šḥn p nt e.e-s ʔr-rḥ-s
20. sb^ʔ.t n s-ḥm.t myḥ^c š^c e-f š^cḫ ʔt.ʔ-f^d
21. ne-s sq.w nk^ʔ ḥwr^c ne
22. p nt e.e-s ʔr-f ʔrme pe-s hy n p-hw ḥr ʔr-s ʔrme ky rsty
23. m-ʔr ḥms ḥr-twn p ʔo a.ʔr-k
24. m-ʔr ty n-k ḥ^c(m)-ḥl n ʔry

^a The right-hand edge of the column has become slightly displaced upwards from the top of the column to line 11.

^b Written ḥwy.y-s.

Column 13.

(x + ?)

1. Do not(?) . . . you [are] bad(?)
2. A wise man is he who desires [a friend(?)] ; a fool is he who] desires an enemy.
3. He to whom a favour has been already done shall not be able to demand it (again)(?)¹⁶⁶
4. Bad is the fortune of the poor man(?) . . .
5. Do not give your son to the foster-mother and so cause her to cast out hers.^{166a}
6. The companion of a fool is a fool ; the companion of a wise man is a wise man.
7. The companion of an idiot is an idiot.¹⁶⁷
8. The mother is the one who produces ; precept only reproduces.¹⁶⁸
9. Every man acquires property ; it is the wise man who conserves it.
10. Do not hand over your property to your younger brother and so cause him to act the elder brother towards you with it.
11. Do not prefer one of your children to another ; you do not know which one of them will be kind to you.
12. If you find your wife with her lover, console yourself with a (new) bride(?).¹⁶⁹
13. Do not get a maid for your wife if you haven't got a servant yourself.
14. Do not acquire two voices.¹⁷⁰
15. Speak Truth to all men ; let it be a very part of your speech.¹⁷¹
16. Do not open your heart to your wife ; what you say to her will belong to the street.^{171a}
17. Do not open your heart to your wife or to your servant.
18. Open it to your mother ; she is a discreet(?)¹⁷² woman.
19. A woman's business is what she knows (by instinct?).
20. Teaching a woman¹⁷³
21. Her economies are robbery(?).¹⁷⁴
22. What she does with her husband to-day she is accustomed to do with another man to-morrow.
23. Do not sit down beside your better.
24. Do not take a youth for your companion.

^c The first two strokes of y in myḥ have been run together.

^d sic for -s ?

TRANSLITERATION

Column 14.

(x + ?)

1. Only traces^a
2. e.ʔr-f ty te-f s hr [tʔe-f^b hnš]/t.t e p bw p ntr m-s-f ʕn
3. m-ʔr ʔr n-k ʔd n ʔry [bw]-ʔr-f ty htb-w.t-k
4. rm e n-hm mt.t mte-f mte-s t nt ty.t-f
5. štm pr e.ʔr-f mwt n.ʔm-s
6. p nt ʕw n ht.t hn mt.t bn.t bw-ʔr-f gm pe-s ʔsy
7. p nt hwr^c a p nk² n ky bw-ʔr-f gm pe-s hw
8. ʔr-k ʔr ʔry rm rh e bw-ʔr-rh-k ht.t-f m-ʔr wn ht.t-k a.r-f
9. ʔr-k ʔr mt.t nfr.t rm 500 mte w^c n.ʔm-w gm.t-s bn-p w^c.t t²(n.t) ʔk
10. e.ʔry grl wtn m-bh p ntr my ʕy te-f snty.t n ht.t-k
11. e.ʔr ʔd dwy grh e.ʔr-w gm.t-f n mre
12. m-ʔr ty ʕsy ne-k mt.w
13. e.ʔr pr wn a p nt e wn nk² (n-)t².t-f
14. p nt phs n phs n hf hr snty.t-f hr hse nwh
15. rm e-f nw h.t-f bw-ʔr-f drp a hy
16. m-ʔr h^c s-hm.t n pe-k ʕy e bw-ʔr-s ʔwr ms
17. hr te ʕš-shn nfr st.t wt.t n ntr ʕo
18. my ʕy pe-k rm hpr ht.t-k hpr . . . ge
19. m-ʔr ty ʔr pe-k hl ʔyt pe-f ʕq-hbs
20. m-ʔr sty n bl a p nk² n ky bw-ʔr-k šf^c
21. m-ʔr ht a p tš n ky
22. m-ʔr wh ʕy n sh(.t)
23. m-ʔr ty smy rm a.ʔr-k

^a Probably no lines above this.

TRANSLATION

Column 14.

(x + ?)

- 1.
2. He will cause him to give it on account of [his sha]me^{174a} and he shall come under divine punishment also.
3. Do not take a robber for your companion [lest] he cause you to be slain.
4. A man who has little gets little.¹⁷⁵
5. Shut up a house and it will perish as a result.
6. He who is stout-hearted in a misfortune shall not feel its full force.
7. He who steals from the property of another shall not benefit from it.¹⁷⁶
8. When you make a companion of (even) a wise man whose mind you do not know, do not open your mind to him.
9. If you do a kindness to 500 men and one of them recognizes it, a part of it has not perished.¹⁷⁷
10. Make sacrifice and libation before God, and let the fear of him be great in your heart.
11. A thief steals by night ; he is found in the day time.
12. Do not talk too much ;¹⁷⁸
13. a house is open to him who has something in his hand.
14. He who has been bitten of the bite of a snake is afraid of a coil(?) of rope.¹⁷⁹
15. The man who looks in front of him does not stumble and fall.
16. Do not abandon a woman of your household because she has not conceived a child.
17. A good deed turns aside the punishment(?) of the Great God.¹⁸⁰
18. Let your man be great . . .¹⁸¹
19. Do not let your child lack his maintenance.
20. Do not covet another's property, that you may not be in want (yourself).
21. Do not trespass on the territory of another.
22. Do not build a house on agricultural land.
23. Do not cause a man to bring an action against you.

^b The longer form of the possessive pronoun (as in tʔe-f hnš.t in 7/19) is required to fill the gap.

Column 15.

(x + ?)

1. m-[ʔr]ʔ [. . .] . . . t hb(?) . . .
2. m-ʔr [. . .] mt.t nt e.ʔr pe-k h[ry hn]-s n-k
3. mn [. . .] ph t p.t
4. mn [ʃr ʔr]-wʃ(?) rmy(?)^a
5. m-ʔr d[d n]a-mt.t nfr.t n py rm bn-p-f gm.t-s n-y
6. mn mt.t nfr.t m-s mt.t nfr.t e.ʔr-k-s p nt ʔyt n.ʔm-s
7. ʔne pe-k ʔw-n-rm hpr mte nkʔ ʔʃy hpr n-k my ʔy ne-k sn.w mte-k
8. ʔyt mte mt.t mte-f ʔy a p hpr e.ʔr-w ʔp-f a ʃʃy.
9. sbk e n-sbʔ-f e.ʔr-f mwy mwy n ʔd ne-ʔr-f
10. rm e-f ty hpr ht mh-1 p swr-f p wnm-f p ty-f
11. rm e-f msty ʔnty te-f hm.t kl m-bh-f
12. rm e-f mr te-f hm.t n lby m-bh-f
13. m-ʔr snty a ʔr t mt.t nt e.ʔr-k mʔ.w n.ʔm-s
14. m-ʔr ʔr dwy.t e-w gm.t-s m-s-k
15. m-ʔr ty ʔr n-f pe-k ʃr hm.t n ky tme bw-ʔr-w ty.t-f mte-k
16. n-ʔn ʔbʔ a gtg n ls
17. n-ʔn hms a ʔr hb
18. m-ʔr dd ʃm-y n ne-mt.t e bn-p-k ʃm n.ʔm-s
19. bn-e shn.t-k dnr.t
20. bn-e te n-k ʔy he-t trp
21. e-w hb-k m-s ʃʔ mte-k gm sw m-ʔr ʔn[-s](?)^b
22. ʔr-k ʃw.t n th e-w wh-f bn-e.ʔr-k qty ʔrme sw
23. m-ʔr ʔr t nt mst-k-s n rm a ty ʔr-s n-k ky
24. m-ʔr hpr ʔrme rm e t ʃʔ n ht.t-f mte-f dd wʔ.t wnw(.t) n ʃʔ n ht.t t nt mteʔ 200
25. hr htb-w rm 500 etbe wʔ.t wnw(.t) n ʃʔ n ht.t-f

^a If wʃ and rmy are correct probably nothing is missing between them. I owe the readings of ʃr and rmy to Smith.

Column 15.

(x +)

1. Do not
2. Do not [fail to do(?) something which your master [has entrusted(?)] to you.
3. There is no . . . which reaches the sky.¹⁸²
4. There is no child(?) which fails to cry(?).
5. Do not say " (I did) a service to this man, but he did not thank me for it(?) ".¹⁸³
6. There is no good deed except the good deed which you do to the man who has need of it.
7. When you have reached your prime and acquired much property let your brother share your wealth.¹⁸⁴
8. The needy man whose affairs become public property¹⁸⁵ is reckoned as a disgrace.
9. The boy who has learnt his lesson meditates on the wrongs he has done.
10. Once(?) a man has acquired money he eats, drinks and squanders(?) it.¹⁸⁶
11. When a man smells myrrh his wife is a cat(?) in his presence.¹⁸⁷
12. When a man is sick his wife is a lioness in his presence.
13. Do not be afraid to do something which you are justified in doing.
14. Do not commit a robbery of which you will be convicted.
15. Do not let your son marry a wife from another village lest he be taken from you.¹⁸⁸
16. Dumbness is better than a hasty tongue.
17. Sitting (still)(?) is better than mourning.
18. Do not say " I have dealt with(?) matters(?) ", if you have not dealt with(?) them.
19. You shall not order a crime.
20. Greed shall not give you food.
21. If you are sent for a letter, and find wheat, do not bring(?) [it].
22. If you are trading in straw, when it is wanted you do not go round offering corn.¹⁸⁹
23. Do not do what you dislike to someone, and so cause another to do it to you.
24. Do not consort with a man who is heartless, and who says " One hour of heartlessness is worth(?)¹⁹⁰ two hundred (hours?) ".
25. Five hundred men are slain on account of his one hour of heartlessness.

^b Traces of one word, which completes the line.

^c The short vertical line between *mte* and *200* is probably a smudge.

Column 16.

(x + ?)^a

1. m[-ʔr] [. . .] [ʔ]byn dt
2. m[-ʔr . . .]y^b mte-k hw(?)
3. m-ʔr [ty] šm pe-k šr sbʔ.t n r r rnp(.t) hm.t
4. m-ʔr šm e.ʔr pe-k sn ʔr-k mr ʔr-k šm e.ʔr pe-k ʔr[y]
5. m-ʔr swr mw pr šwt e-f ʔp a.ʔr-k etbe ht
6. m-ʔr hwy bk n-tʔ pe-f hry
7. m-ʔr dd mst.t-y pe hry bn-e-y šms.t-f
8. šms ʕy tgn^c mst
9. a.ʔny ht a ms.t hwy a šh.t
10. a.ʔny ht a ms.t e.ʔry n-k hm.t
11. a.ʔny ht a ms.t e.ʔry pe-k hw-ms
12. m-ʔr ʔn ht a ms.t a ʔr ʕnh ʕo n.ʔm-f
13. m-ʔr ʕrk ʕd ʔr-k mr bw-ʔr-k n-bn a pe-k gy
14. m-ʔr šn.t-k m-bh p ntr mte-k sny te-dd-f
15. m-ʔr sby ʔrme mʔ.t
16. m-ʔr dd mt.t Pr-ʕo hn hnq
17. m-ʔr ʔr wpy.t ʔr-k ʕd.t n.ʔm-s
18. m-ʔr gby n ht.t hn mt.t bn.t
19. m-ʔr hp-k a šmʕo e-f ʔy n-bl
20. e-f hpr e mn <n>tʔ.t-k wn <n>tʔ.t-f
21. m-ʔr ty ht a ms.t e mn ʔwe.t <n>tʔ.t-k
22. m-ʔr ʕy nhte.t bw-ʔr-k ʔr ʔbyn
23. m-ʔr mst p nt e-f dd n-k ʔnk pe-k sn
24. sbk te mw.t n p ʕy n pe yt tn(?) e ʕʔ-s
25. m-ʔr dlh hʕ(m) sh hʕ(m) sty.t hʕ(m) ʔn hm

^a A dot on the broken edge of the papyrus above the determinative of [ʔ]byn in line 1 is probably an indication of a lost line.

Column 16.

(x + ?)

1. Do [not . . . lest you be(?)] poor for ever.¹⁹¹
2. Do not . . . while you have(?) . . .¹⁹²
3. Do not let your school-boy son go¹⁹³ to the door of the storehouse (in) a lean year.
4. Do not go to your brother if you are in trouble ; go to your friend.
5. Do not drink water in the house of a merchant ; he will charge you for it.¹⁹⁴
6. Do not deliver a servant into the hands of his master.
7. Do not say " I hate my master ; I will not serve him ".^{194a}
8. Serve zealously ; repress hatred.
9. Borrow money at interest and till(?) the land.¹⁹⁵
10. Borrow money at interest and marry a wife.
11. Borrow money at interest and celebrate your birthday.¹⁹⁶
12. Do not borrow money at interest to have a good time with it.¹⁹⁷
13. Do not swear falsely when you are in trouble lest you become worse off than you are at present.¹⁹⁸
14. Do not pray to God¹⁹⁹ and neglect what he says.
15. Do not laugh at instruction.
16. Do not speak of affairs of state in liquor.^{199a}
17. Do not make a judgment in which you are wrong.²⁰⁰
18. Do not be faint-hearted in bad times.²⁰¹
19. Do not conceal yourself from a stranger who comes from elsewhere ;
20. if there is nothing in your hand there (may) be something in his.²⁰²
21. Do not lend money at interest without security.
22. Do not be too trusting²⁰³ lest you become poor.
23. Do not hate him who says to you " I am your brother ".
24. My mother is close in the house of my father in proportion to her wealth(?).²⁰⁴
25. Do not scorn a small document, a small fire, or a small gift(?).²⁰⁵

^b Read hsy? But there are many alternatives, and the correct reading depends on the meaning of the last word in the line.

^c The vertical stroke after the legs-determinative of tgn must be a slip of the pen.

Column 17.
(x + ?)

1. [. . .] .y.t cy(?) [. . .]
2. [m-r . . .] pe-k(?) nk^c n tb^c [a ty(?)] btw n ky.
3. [m-r(?)^a ws(?)] tn s-hm.t e pe-s hy stm a hrw-k
4. [m-r(?) wh]y r t yp.t nt e-r-k r(?)^b-rh^c nh^c n.m-s
5. [m-r] ty hpr n-k nk^c e mn-mte-k pr-ht
6. m-r šp sne e bn-e-r-k r qnbe.t
7. m-r dd šm n-f p e thr bn-e-y r phr
8. m-r cy šm n-k bw-r-w mst.t-k
9. m-r ty nw hs a ph t^c
10. m-r ys r-k mt.t e-r-hr pe-k hry
11. m-r ddy m-šs bw-r-k h^c
12. m-r cy n w^cb-k mw w^c.t-f
13. hr ht p mw p ny
14. m-r šm a myt e mn šbt (n-)t^c.t-k
15. m-r šq a rm e-r-hr pe-f ry n(?) t(?)^c wpy.t
16. m-r mš^c w^c.t-k n rhe
17. m-r sš pe-k hry e-r-hr rm hm
18. r-k hpr rme rm mte-k nfr rme-f e-f n-bn m-r h^c-f
19. my ph-f a te-f hw.t nhe
20. p nt e-f y m-s-f e-f ty nh^c-k
21. s-hm.t e mr-w-s e-r-w h^c-s e h^c-w-s
22. snhy pe-k cy tn wne sp-sn gm-k pe-f d
23. my sb^c pe-k šr a sh a sk a hm a gp etbe w^c.t rnp(.t) st.t
24. ty hs ty hyr m-r r yp.t sksk^a H^cp mte-f gm p hw ne-r-f
25. m-r cy dd mt.t e-r-hr pe-k hry
26. hm b^c.t te-y cy te-k šf^c.t n ht.t rm nb

^a As the line of m-r's slopes inwards towards the top of the column there is almost certainly nothing lost between [m-r(?)] and [ws(?)]tn. Even more certain in the next verse.

^b There is no obvious sign of damage to the papyrus, but the traces suit r. Alternatively, if the dot above is neglected, we must read a of the future. why (suggested by Smith) seems the best of several possible restorations.

Column 17.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. [Do not place(?)] your property under seal, (only) [to do(?)] spite(?) to another.
3. [Do not(?) take] liberties with a woman whose husband is complaisant(?).²⁰⁶
4. Do [not fail] to do the work which you can live by.
5. Do not acquire wealth if you have not got a strong room.
6. Do not accept a gift unless you are prepared to state your claim (to it)(?).
7. Do not say "Let the man who is in distress look after himself,²⁰⁷ I will not prescribe a remedy (for him)."
8. Do not go out for yourself too much, lest you become disliked.
9. Do not make a weary man look to (the?) ends of (the) earth(?).²⁰⁸
10. Do not hurry when you do something²⁰⁹ in the presence of your master.
11. Do not run round in circles (simply) in order not to stand still.²¹⁰
12. Do not be always purifying yourself with water only;
13. the river flows down (even) for the stone.²¹¹
14. Do not take the road without a stick in your hand.
15. Do not be deceitful(?) to a man in the presence of his advocate.²¹²
16. Do not go out alone in the evening.²¹³
17. Do not ridicule your master in the presence of a poor man.
18. If you keep company with a man and are on good terms with him, do not leave him when he fares badly;²¹⁴
19. let him attain his house of eternity;²¹⁵
20. his heir will make provision for you.²¹⁶
21. A woman who is loved is left when she is left.²¹⁷
22. Inspect your house twice every hour that you may catch the burglar.²¹⁸
23. Let your son learn to write, to plough, to fowl and to trap according to the season of the year.²¹⁹
24. Remove(?) dung, remove(?) filth; do not do the scavenging of Hapi, but let him get the advantage of what he does.²²⁰
25. Do not talk too much in the presence of your master.
26. Be modest, that your reputation may increase in the hearts of all men.^{220a}

^c If t is right the bottom stroke must be accidental. Even so it is a very irregular form; but no other reading seems possible.

^d The whole of sksk seems to have been inserted as an afterthought. The small space between yp.t and H^cp possibly contained an n which has been covered by the first sk of sksk.

Column 18.
(x + ?)

1. [. . .] . . . a.²r-k m[-²r(?)?)] [. . .] . . . [. . .]
2. [. . .] hm(?) ²r why e te-f^a [. . .] hf(?)
3. [. . .] hpr n-k my w^c.t t²(n.t) n.²m-w etbe nht.t
4. ²[r-k(?)]) ²r(?) yp.t n sh(.t) m-²r ²r mt.t n ^cd
5. n-^cn why e-f tn a gs mnh
6. ²r-k dr hwy ne-k dm^c.w a p yr ²r-k gby hwy st ^cn
7. e.²r rm hm dd e-y htb.t-k e-f htb.t-k n m ^c.t
8. e.²r rm ^co dd e-y htb.t-k my dd-k hr te-f pn^c.t
9. my ht 100 s-hm.t rm-rh.t m-²r šp ht 200 <n-)>² lh.t
10. p nt p yhy ²rme ne-pe-f tme e-f t wpy.t ²rme-w
11. n hr.t.w n p lh mš^c n p hyr ne-p rm rh st he.t-f
12. p nt qpe h pe-f hry e hry 500 hpr n-f
13. rm e mn-mte-f tme te-f my.t te-f mhw-t
14. rm e mn-mte-f nk² te-f hm.t te-f ²ry-pš
15. m-²r ršy n p ^cny n te-k hm.t e.²r ht.t-s hr p nq.s
16. m-²r dd wn-mte-y py nk² hn-e-y šms ntr bn-e-y šms rm ^cn
17. hr mnk nk² šms p ntr p nt ty hpr
18. m-²r hb n p nt e bw-²r-rh-k-s n mt.t
19. p nt mr pe-f pr a hms n.²m-f e-f hm-f a ne-f sy.w
20. p nt mst-f e-f^b qt.t-f e-f gr^c-f
21. m-²r hsy n ht.t ²r-k thr bw-²r-w ²r pe-k mn
22. m-²r dd e-y ty py nk² n py rm e bn-e.²r-k ty-st n-f
23. ty rm ^co a pe-k ^cy ty rm hm a pe-k tgs
24. e.²r H^cp ²y e-f tš a-hr hr nb
25. e.²r-w ²n p rm a hry p mte e-f w.t p nt wnm-f

^a -s impossible ; -f has been cut short at the neck.

Column 18.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. [When] a fowler(?) goes fishing, his [. . .] perish(?).
3. [If] you have acquired many(?) . . . put aside one part of them for security(?).
4. [When you(?)] are working on the land do not do anything deceitful(?).
5. Better a noble failure than a half success(?).²²¹
6. If you are powerful throw your deeds into the river; if you are weak throw them also.²²²
7. If a poor man says " I will kill you ", he will kill you in truth.
8. If a rich man says " I will kill you ", lay your head on his doorstep.
9. Give a prudent woman a hundred pieces of silver ; do not accept two hundred from a foolish one.
10. He who grieves with the people²²³ of his village shall rejoice with them.
11. The children of the fool wander in the street ; those ²²³ of the wise man are by his side.²²⁴
12. He who hides behind his master shall get five hundred masters.
13. A man who has no village—his (own) personality is his family.
14. A man who has no property—his wife is his co-heiress(?).^{224a}
15. Do not rejoice over your wife's beauty : her heart (is set) on your taking her.²²⁵
16. Do not say " (Now that) I have this wealth I will serve neither God nor man ".
17. Wealth is perfected in the service of God, the one who causes (it) to happen.²²⁶
18. Do not consult about a matter someone whom you do not know.
19. He who enjoys living in his house²²⁷ warms it to the rafters.
20. He who dislikes it builds one and mortgages it.²²⁸
21. Do not be despondent when you are in distress ; your end is not made (yet).²²⁹
22. Do not say " I will give this property to this man " if you do not intend to give it to him.
23. Take the rich man to your house, take the poor man to your boat.
24. When the Nile rises it distributes to everyone.
25. When the fish are brought to the master in flood-time,²³⁰ he dismisses him who eats it.²³¹

^b The scribe first wrote p nt ; e-f is written very heavily over p nt.

Column 19.

(x + ?)

1. *dd-w(?) [. . .] nyk p(?) [. . .]*
2. *dd-k n²-y(?) [. . .] te-k mwt^a dd-k n²-y(?) [. . .] . te-k 'nh*
3. *n-ntm p mw n p e.²r-ty-st a p ²rp n p [e.²r-šp(?)]-f*
4. *e.²r-w dwy ²h.t n šh.t e.²r-w qnqn(?) pe-s nb a p tme*
5. *²ne pe-k ddy šn.t-k m-²r hp-k a.r-f*
6. *²ne ²n fy m^c a pe-f ²ry e mhy.t hy n.²m-f*
7. *mn šr Pr-^co grh*
8. *²ne rm-swg ²r ht.t-f e-f ²r rm rh*
9. *bw-²r rm mr p nt mst-f-s*
10. *e.²ry mt.t nrf.t a(?)^b hwy a p mte e-f hm ²r-k gm.t-s*
11. *²ne sn 2 tnš m-²r šm ²wt-w*
12. *p nt šm ²wt sn 2 e-w tnš hr te-w st ²wt-w e-w htp*
13. *hwn².t n p nt e nhš t nt wnm te-s g².t t šr.t p wh*
14. *hwn hry p nt ²r hry wne bn-e ne-rm wšt m-bh p ntr*
15. *m-²r hm-n-ht.t ²r-k mr mte-k tbh p mwt*
16. *p nt 'nh pe-f sm rt*
17. *mn ²byn m-s p e.²r-mwt*
18. *1000 bk pr šwt p šwt w^c n.²m-w*
19. *²ne pe-k hry dd n-k mt.t rm-rh snty n-f p nt e.²r-k ²r-f*
20. *rm rh p nt rh t nt sny e.²r-hr-f*
21. *my hrw-k ²rme pe-k nk² ²r-f špe 2*
22. *e.²r hnq cw hr te-f ^c .t*
23. *e.²r ²rp cw e bw-²r-te-w glp-f*
24. *e.²r n-nfr phr <n>²t pe-s syn*
25. *e.²r-w ty n-k q etbe swg my ²r n-k sb².t n bty.t*

^a There is a deliberate gap in the writing after *mwt*. I cannot explain the line under *mwt* except as a mistake.

Column 19.

(x + ?)

1. They say . . .
2. If(?) you say to me(?) “. . .” you die; if you say to me(?) “. . .” you live.
3. Water is sweeter to him who has given it than wine is to him who [has received?] it.
4. If a cow is stolen from the field, its owner must be fought with(?) in the town.²³²
5. When your enemy entreats you do not conceal yourself from him.
6. If a bultī²³³ gives way to its rival the fish perish as a result.
7. There is no son of Pharaoh in the night.²³⁴
8. When an idiot acts by instinct he acts wisely.
9. A man does not love one whom he hates.²³⁵
10. Do a good deed (only) to throw it into mid-river, and it is extinguished when you find it.
11. When two brothers quarrel do not come between them.
12. The man who comes between two brothers when they quarrel is apt to be placed between them when they are at peace.
13. The girl belonging to a strong man is she who eats; her rival is the daughter of the . . .²³⁶
14. The master's favourite will act the master if the household do not worship before God.
15. Do not be faint-hearted when you are in trouble and pray for death.²³⁷
16. He who lives, his seed flourishes.
17. There is none wretched except him who has died.²³⁸
18. A thousand²³⁹ servants are in the house of a merchant; the merchant is one of them.
19. When your master says something wise to you, you feel respect for him.²⁴⁰
20. A wise man is he who knows what goes on in his presence.
21. Give your blessing(?)²⁴¹ with your property, that it may make two gifts.
22. Beer matures (only) on its mash.
23. Wine matures until it has been opened.
24. A remedy is effective (only) in the hands of the physician who has prescribed it.²⁴²
25. When you are given a loaf for stupidity, let teaching be an abomination to you.

^b Or *n*; the scribe may have intended to erase the sign.

Column 20.
(x + ?)

1. Traces only.
2. [e-f?] mr [. . .] te-f hm.t
3. e-f hsy p [. . .] [ht.(?)]-t-f
4. e.ry h^{co}[t(?)] tgy ht nb e.ry h.t tgy nhy
5. bw-r sh^{ty} r sm^{co} n bk.t
6. e.r c^s-shn nfr nb c p ntr
7. bw-r sr sk.t r khyh
8. bw-r sr h^ct mte
9. n-m-s n nfy.w n p hf a [n?] hwhw.w n p c^o
10. wn ddy e n-cⁿ hms a.r-f
11. wn hms e n-cⁿ c^hc a.r-f
12. m-r hms n cy e-f sny p mwt bw-r-f dd te-y w
13. hf e-f wnm mn-mte-f mtw.t
14. ššt e n-c^r r-f n-c^s ne-f shb.w a ne-f qbb.w
15. hr šp-w hnme nb a cy bw-r-w šp d
16. p hne(?) n p lh p wy a.r-f
17. r-k mre n hte c^o sdr.t-k n te-f hyb^o.t
18. my cy n rm.w nt cy-n-ms n ht.t-k cy-k n ht.t rm nb
19. e.r s-hm.t ty nq-w-s a t my.t n pe-s hy
20. bw-r rm wnm p nt hr yr.t-f
21. pr-ht e-f mh ndr hr gm-w šw nb hn-f
22. c^{se}.t n pr tm hms n.m-f
23. c^{se}.t s-hm.t tm rh-s
24. c^{se}.t c^o fy tbe
25. c^{se}.t dy fy th

Column 20.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. If(?) he is in trouble . . . his wife.
3. If(?) he is tired the(?) . . . in(?) his heart(?)
4. End by planting any tree, begin by planting a sycamore.
5. A weaver does not play the stranger to the woof(?).²⁴³
6. Every good deed is (from) the hand of God.²⁴⁴
7. A son of(?) a ploughman does not take to stabling(?).²⁴⁵
8. A son of(?) a weigh-master(?) is not straight.²⁴⁶
9. The hissing of the snake is more significant than the braying of the donkey.
10. To one who has been running, sitting down is pleasant.
11. To one who has been sitting down, standing up is pleasant.
12. Do not stay in a house which is decaying ; death does not say " I am coming ".
13. A snake which is eating has no venom.
14. A window which is wide open gives more heat than coolness.²⁴⁷
15. All neighbours are welcome²⁴⁸ in a house; thieves are not welcome.
16. The boon-companion of the rogue is the man who has set him free(?).²⁴⁹
17. If you are burdened(?) by a heavy tax you sleep in its shadow.
18. Let men of noble birth be highly esteemed by you, that you may be highly esteemed by all men.
19. A woman allows herself to be taken at the will of her husband.
20. A man does not eat the first thing in sight.²⁵⁰
21. A store-house which is full of beans(?) is found altogether profitable.²⁵¹
22. The waste of a house is not to live in it.
23. The waste of a woman is not to know her.
24. The waste of a donkey is carrying bricks.
25. The waste of a boat is carrying straw.

Column 21.

(x + ?)

1. *mn(?) [. . .]y e-f dd e-w gm(?)^a [. . .] . . . [. . .]*
2. *mn [. . .] [tb]h(?) mr ʔr y[p.t(?)]^b*
3. *mn [. . .] e hr qse-w-s*
4. *mn [ʔ]bh^c ktkt mte-s smn ge*
5. *mn nhs bš bny.t*
6. *mn ʔry sny w^c.t-f*
7. *mn rm rh gm ʔsy*
8. *mn lh gm hw*
9. *mn p nt hws a p ʔo a.r-f e bn-e mte-f p nt hws.t ʔn*
10. *mn p nt hwy pe-f ʔry mš^c e bw-ʔr p ntr ʔp-s ʔrme-f*
11. *mn p nt hwy n krf e bw-ʔr-w krf-f*
12. *mn p nt why e hr šm-f e-f mnh*
13. *m-ʔr shst(?) mte-k ph sʔwt mte-k ʔnt.t-k n-tʔ.t-f*
14. *p nt špy a nq te-f hm.t bw-ʔr-w ms n-f*
15. *m-ʔr ʔf^c bw-ʔr-w štm.t-k*
16. *m-ʔr hns bw-ʔr-w mst.t-k*
17. *m-ʔr dwy hmt^d n p ʔy n pe-k hry*
18. *m-ʔr nq s-hm.t e wn-mte-s hy*
19. *p nt nq s-hm.t e wn-mte-s hy hr glg e.ʔr-w nq te-f hm.t hr p ʔtn*
20. *n-ʔn twt n ʔny n šr a lh*
21. *n-ʔn mn a sn why.t*
22. *n-ʔn mwt a ʔyt*
23. *ʔr-k ʔby n grh my te te-k mw.t swr-k*
24. *m-ʔr hpr n tme e mn-mte-k rm n.ʔm-f*
25. *ʔr-k hpr n tme e mn-mte-k rm n.ʔm-f te-k ʔmy.t te-k mhw.t*

^a or ʔr.^b Probably nothing lost after *yp.t*.

Column 21.

(x + ?)

1. There is no(?) . . . who says "They will find(?) . . .".^{251a}
2. There is no . . . who likes to work(?).
3. There is no . . . which is buried.
4. There is no tooth which grows old and leaves another in its place.²⁵²
5. There is no negro who bares the breast(?).²⁵³
6. There is no companion who passes the time alone(?).
7. There is no wise man who comes to grief.
8. There is no fool who finds reward.
9. There is none who injures his superior without being himself the one who is injured.
10. There is none who deserts his travelling companion²⁵⁴ whom God does not hold to account for it.
11. There is none who plays a trick and who is not himself tricked.
12. There is none who goes astray and then goes and prospers.
13. Do not run away(?)²⁵⁵ only to come up against a guard and deliver yourself into his hand.^{255a}
14. He who is ashamed to lie with his wife will not get children.
15. Do not be greedy, that you may not be denied.
16. Do not be mean, that you may not be disliked.
17. Do not steal (even?) a bronze vessel²⁵⁶ in the house of your master.
18. Do not lie with a married woman.²⁵⁷
19. He who lies with a married woman²⁵⁷ on her bed will have his wife ravished²⁵⁸ on the ground.
20. Better a statue of stone for a son than a fool.²⁵⁹
21. Better to be without (a brother) than to have a brother who is evil.
22. Better death than want.²⁶⁰
23. If you are thirsty in the night let your mother give you to drink.
24. Do not stay in a district in which you have no people (of your own).
25. If you stay in a district in which you have no people (of your own), your own personality is your family.

^c *sh* suggested by Smith.^d Or two words, *hmt hbs*.

Column 22.

(x + ?)^a

1. [ʔr-k hš]y(?) e.ʔr[-hr?] . . .
2. m-ʔr fy [h̄t(?)] .t-k e [bn-e-ʔr-k] r̄h̄ [. . .]
3. m-ʔr h̄wy sty.t e [bn-e-ʔr]-k r̄h̄ [ʔhm(?)]-s
4. my te-k šr.t n hm.t^b n s-n-nb [m-ʔr] ty [pe-k šr(?) n] te-f šr.t
5. p nt nyn n p ʔny e.ʔr-f hy a-hr rte.t-f
6. p nt mr s-hm.t n p h̄yr n te-f šw.tt^c t.t-s
7. bw-ʔr-w wh sy a ʔo
8. ʔne s-hm.t mr msh e-s ty te-f ʔmy.t
9. s-hm.t gr̄h̄ h̄s.t mre
10. m-ʔr dd p h̄sf s-hm.t mr-t.t
11. m-ʔr dd p h̄s n s-hm.t mst-t.t
12. l̄h̄ a mš^c ʔrme rm r̄h̄ ʔn a mš^c ʔrme te-f sfy
13. l̄h̄ hn ʔy m-qty mn̄h̄ hn pr-h̄t ʔrp
14. bw-ʔr ʔy e-f šny ty šm^co
15. bw-ʔr msh ty rm-n-tme
16. ʔr-k h̄q^ʔ wnm te-k bty.t ʔr-k sy^c bty.t-s
17. p nt e mn-mte-f yr.t-f a p yr my te-f h̄t-t-f na-n hn̄w
18. ʔr-k ʔy a dd mt.t e.ʔr-hr pe-k h̄ry ʔp wh <n>t^ʔ.t-k š^c h̄ry
19. my w^c ʔq pe-k o-yp.t ty 2 n ne-f h̄pš.w
20. my w^c ʔq n p nt ʔr yp.t my 2 p nt wh-shn
21. m-ʔr h̄wš a rm ʔsy
22. ʔne h̄wš h̄pr e m̄hy h̄pr
23. ʔne m̄hy h̄pr e h̄tb h̄pr
24. bw-ʔr h̄tb h̄pr e bw-ʔr-r̄h̄ p ntr
25. bw-ʔr mt.t h̄pr m-s t^ʔ nt e p ntr sh̄n.t-s

^a A vertical stroke above ʔr in line 1 is probably from a lost line.^b An accidental vertical stroke obscures the .t of hm.t.

Column 22

(x + ?)

1. If you are tired(?). . .
2. Do not rejoice if you do not (yet) know . . .²⁶¹
3. Do not start a fire if you cannot put it out(?).
4. Give your daughter in marriage to a gold dealer(?)²⁶². Do [not?] give [your son?] to his daughter.
5. He who shakes the stone—it will fall upon his foot.^{262a}
6. He who makes love to a woman in the street with his purse . . .²⁶³
7. A beam is not loaded on a donkey.²⁶⁴
8. When a woman likes a crocodile she takes on its character.
9. A woman at night, a great lady(?)²⁶⁵ by day.
10. Do not speak scorn of a loved woman.
11. Do not speak praise of a detested woman.^{265a}
12. A fool to go with a wise man (is like) a bultī going with its knife.²⁶⁶
13. A fool in a house is like fine clothes in a wine-cellar.
14. A house which is in ruins does not attract a visitor.
15. A crocodile does not catch a townsman.²⁶⁷
16. If you are hungry, eat your (own) filth, (and) you will (soon) be satiated by the filth of it.²⁶⁸
17. He who has not got his eye on(?) the river, let him give his mind to what belongs in the water pots(?).²⁶⁹
18. If you come to say something to your master have your answer ready beforehand(?).²⁷⁰
19. Give one loaf to your labourer, take two from his shoulders.²⁷¹
20. Give one loaf to the man who does the work, give two to the man who gives the orders.²⁷²
21. Do not insult a nobleman.
22. When insult occurs fighting follows ;
23. When fighting occurs killing follows ;
24. And killing doesn't happen without God knowing.
25. Nothing happens except what God ordains.

^c I owe the reading to Erichsen.^d The n is continuous with the oblique stroke of ne.f.

Column 23.
(x + ?)

1. *e.²r rm r[h(?) . .] . . .*
2. *my[.t rm t(?)] nt e-s(?) [. . .]*
3. *p ht(?) . . . pe-f rm(??) hyw [. . .] . . .[. . .] . . n.²m-s(?)*
4. *hr hp g².t swg^a*
5. *e.²r-w ty p hy <n>-t² p(?) [. . .] e . . [. . .] mht.t*
6. *m-²r mr s-hm.t e wn-m[te-s] hy^b*
7. *p nt mr s-hm.t e wn-mte-s hy e.²r-w htb.t-f hr te-s pn^c.t*
8. *n-²n hms n pe-k pr hm a hms n p pr °o n ky*
9. *n-²n nk² hm e-f twt a nk² °o e-f hr*
10. *w^c sh ls n pr-Pr-°o w^c sh hny n p ym py*
11. *bw-²r ²h hw^t °s a p dm bw-²r ²hy °o hf*
12. *t m².t n p ntr e.²r-hr rm nb bw-²r p hne(?) gm.t-s*
13. *²n °nh-y hr-f n p e.²r-mwt*
14. *t².t nb swtn n p ntr e.²r-f šp t²(.t) pe-f mr.t*
15. *kl e mr-f tgy mst-f p nt wnm-f*
16. *hrw-k hrw-y hr-f n p gby <n> t².t*
17. *m-²r ²r tl n yp.t nb mte-k ²r hs te-k^c yp.t*
18. *p nt e bw-²r-f ²r hs pe-f yt e-f ²r tl a.r-f*
19. *n o-hms.w n nt hms n °y.w n tnf.w n nt n(?) t²y*
20. *n krr.w n nt hs H^cp n pne.w n nt wnm n bt.w*
21. *n ²h.w n nt ty hpr yt bt n °o.w n nt wnm-w*
22. *m-²r ty byn e.²r-hr rm °o*
23. *m-²r swr mw hnm.t mte-k hwy krl a.r-s*
24. *he.t s-hm.t ht.t hte*

^a Probably no writing after *swg*. The smudged mark over *hr* at the beginning of the line is an accident.

^b The faint vertical stroke and the *f* were probably intended to be erased. Neither can belong to this line or to the line above.

Column 23.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. It is a man's personality that(?) . . .
3. . . .
4. Silence conceals folly(?).²⁷³
5. They take sunshine from the North Wind.
6. Do not make love to a married woman.²⁵⁷
7. He who makes love to a married woman²⁵⁷ is killed on her doorstep.²⁷⁴
8. It is more pleasant to live in your (own) small house than to live in the large house of another.
9. A small property which is intact is better than a large property which is robbed.
10. A slip of the tongue in the royal Palace is (like) a wrong turn of the helm at sea.
11. A bull does not bellow at mating ; a great stable is not deserted.
12. The precepts of God are before all men, (but) the blockhead cannot see them.
13. "Am I alive?" asks the dead man.
14. Every hand which stretches out to God pledges his beloved.^{274a}
15. A cat which loves fruit, hates him who eats it.²⁷⁵
16. "I agree with you", says the weakling.²⁷⁶
17. Do not be energetic in every (other) business, but lazy in your own.
18. He who is not lazy in his father's concern is a support to him.²⁷⁷
19. The guests (?) are those who sit in the houses, it is the musicians who are making merry(?).²⁷⁸
20. The frogs are those who praise Hapi ; it is the mice which eat the emmer.
21. The oxen are those who harvest the barley and emmer ; it is the asses who consume it.
22. Do not bring a poor man into the presence of a rich man.²⁷⁹
23. Do not drink water from a well and (then) throw the pitcher back into it.
24. Belly (of) a woman ; heart (of) a horse.²⁸⁰

^c The two black dots either side of *te-k* are accidental.

Column 24.

(x + ?)

1. Traces only.^a
2. [. . .].t^c h^c n^h [. . .]
3. [. . .] p^h t a h^r [nb?] [. . .] t^y sp-sn [. . .]
4. ²ne nk² c^sy h^pr n-k [. . .] te-k [. . .]
5. mn(?) . . . h^rp n pe-k . . . [. . .] ²r-k mwt
6. m-²r ²r n-k s-hm.t th^r.t n hm.t
7. ²ne c^o mš^c ²rme hte(?) e-f ²r ne-f^b mš^c.w
8. ²ne msh mr c^o e-f t^y(?) [ne-f?] rk.w(?)
9. h^r gm-w hte a šm m-s qne(?) bw-²r-w gm(?) c^o a ty p^h-f
10. n-nfr rm a c^o a nq te-f sw.t(?) t(?) nt nt.t-f
11. e.²rw ty c^q n mr-šn etbe šn e-f tm šn e-w š^ct-f
12. mn th n sf lg šby n p-hw
13. n-nfr tp(?)^c n hq² a mwt n šyt
14. m-²r šty^a a ²r te-k . . . ²t(?)^c h^s[f(?)].t-s
15. ²r-k w^cy ²rme pe-k h^ry(?)^f m-²r dd n-f c^ht.t-k
16. e.²r tme ²y a gp e.²r-h^r(?) . . . šm(?) a.r-f
17. e.²r tme ²y a h^f e-²r-h^r(?) . . . n.²m-f
18. p nt e bw-²r-f fy n sw.w pe-f y^t . . . e-f fy š^c na-n pr.w
19. m-²r m^h.t n mt.t e bn-e.²r-k rh m^h.t n p^h.t-s
20. s-hm.t he.t n ²ny ty p tpy(?) p(?) nt(?) ²r(?) bk-s
21. s-hm.t nfr.t hy šmy.t hfw a pyr^g hn hq²
22. mn p h^w pe šr nt e bn-e-y ²r pe-f(?) mtn^g(?)
23. mn p h^w pe bk nt e bn-e-f ²r pe^g bk
24. mn p h^w pe sn nt e bn-e-f ²r pe^g rwš

^a The long vertical gap in this column has resulted in the two sides being brought a little too close together in mounting, down to line 13 inclusive.

^b c^s is not possible; ne-f probable.

^c Not c^{nh}.

Column 24.

(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. . . . life-time . . .
3. . . . bend down(?) to every one(?) . . .
4. If much wealth accrues to you your . . .
5. you will(?) die.
6. Do not marry a miserable(?) woman.
7. If a donkey runs with a horse it keeps the same pace(?).²⁸¹
8. When a crocodile wants (to catch) a donkey it seizes (?) its . . .
9. A horse is found to run after(?) a prize; a donkey is not found to strive for(?) it.²⁸²
10. Better for a man than a donkey to copulate; his purse(?) will rescue(?) him.²⁸³
11. Bread is given to the Chief Priest in return for his intercession; if he does not intercede he is slain.
12. No drunkenness of yesterday removes to-day's thirst.
13. Better to grow accustomed to(?) hunger than to die of starvation.
14. Do not shirk(?) doing your . . . [do it(?)] without scorning it.
15. If you curse(?) your master(?) do not (then) say to him "Your good health!"²⁸⁴
16. A town will receive(?) in the presence of(?) [him who(?)] goes to it.
17. A town will be deserted(?) in the presence of(?) [him who(?)] . . . in it.
18. He who does not carry in his father's harvest . . . shall carry away the title deeds to the property.²⁸⁵
19. Do not take charge of an affair unless you can take charge of it to the end.
20. A woman is a body of stone; the first-comer is he who works on her(?).²⁸⁶
21. A good woman who is high-spirited(?); a snake which comes forth from hunger.²⁸⁷
22. There is no use in my son if I do not make use of his earnings(?).
23. There is no use in my servant if he does not do my work.
24. There is no use in my brother if he does not pay attention to my troubles.

^d The left hand stroke suggests y rather than e, although only two strokes can now be seen.

^e mn not possible.

^f Proposed by Smith; ²ry is not possible.

^g The two sides of the column are again slightly too close together from line 21 to the end.

Column 25.
(x + ?)

1. Traces at the beginning only.
2. *m-²r* [. . .] *ty*(?) [. . .] . *byn*
3. *m-²r* [. . .] *m-bh* *p*(?) [. . .] *n-f*
4. *n-²s*(?) [. . .] *p ntr hn t*(?) [. . .] *n] hw a n h².w n P-R² hn wsh.t ²o.t*
5. *e.²r* [*s-hm.*]*t h[tp² n p]e-s hy n shne.w n p ntr ne*
6. *m-²r ty pe-k ²y pe-k s-²nh etbe ht etbe w² h w mte-k ²r*(?) *byn dt*
7. *m-²r ty nk² ²sy n p nk² Pr-²o bw-²r-f ²dn²-k ²rme te-k mhw.t*
8. *m-²r ty* [*mt.*(?)]*w² n s-hm.t a ht.t-k*
9. *s-hm.t ²se.t*(?) *ty e bw-²r-s wy p ht*(?) *e-bn-p-s sf-f*
10. *rh p gy n hb a-hr*(?) *Pr-²o*
11. *rh p gy n hms m-bh Pr-²o*
12. *rh p snhy n t p.t*
13. *rh p snhy n p t²*
14. *hmy e h[t.t] s-hm.t ht.t pe-s hy wy.w a tn²*
15. *stp hy rm-rh te-k sr.t m-²r stp n-s hy rm-²o*
16. *e.²ry rnp(.t) w².t ²r-k wnm nk² <n>t².t-k te-y te*(?) *rnp(.t) 3.t . . . p*(?) *shne*(?)
17. *m-²r ²r n-k s-hm.t s²b².t n hm.t bw-²r-s ty mter.t s²b².t n ne-k hr².w*
18. *e.²r s-hm.t htp² [n*(?)] *pe-s hy bw-²r-w n-bn ²n sp-sn*
19. *e.²r s-hm.t qsqs m-s pe-s hy [bw-²r-w] n-nfr ²n sp-sn*
20. *e.²r s-hm.t tm mr p nk² n pe-s hy ge hw²*(?) *e.²r-hr*(?) *ht.[t-s*(?)]
21. *s-hm.t ²snte.t*(?) *mn-[m]te-s ²h²*
22. *s-hm.t bn.t mn-mte-s hy*
23. *hr hwy t hm.t*(?) [*n*?] *p lh [a²] pe-s*(?) *lh . . . e-w dd pe*(?) . . .
24. *mn-mte-y* [. . .] . . . *mn-mte-y* . . .^c

^a *htp*, suggested by Smith, suits the traces well, and in l. 18.
^b *mt.w* is possible, but there is hardly room for *n* before it.

Column 25.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. Do not . . . poor.
3. Do not . . . before . . . to him.
4. The . . . of God in the . . . are much more numerous than the appearances of P-Rē in the Great Hall.
5. If a woman is at peace with her husband, it is the will of God.
6. Do not sell your house and your revenues for the sake of one day, and be poor for ever.
7. Do not make capital out of the property of Pharaoh, lest he destroy you and your family.
8. Do not take a woman's [words(?)] to your heart.
9. A woman is a danger(?) who does not part with(?) the tree(?) without having disfigured it(?).^{287a}
10. Learn how to approach Pharaoh.
11. Learn how to sit in the presence of Pharaoh.
12. Learn to observe the sky.
13. Learn to observe the earth.
14. Oh that the heart(?) of a woman and the heart of her husband should be free from animosity.
15. Choose a prudent husband for your daughter, do not choose for her a rich husband.
16. Spend one year consuming the property you have, that three years . . . the bank(?)²⁸⁸
17. Do not marry an impious woman lest she give your children a bad upbringing.
18. If a woman is at peace with her husband they shall never fare badly.
19. If a woman whispers about her husband [they shall never] fare well.
20. If a woman does not care for the property of her husband another man is on her mind.²⁸⁹
21. A . . . woman shall not have a (long) life.
22. A bad woman shall have no husband.
23. The wife(?) of the fool beats her fool(?) . . . when they say "My(?) . . .".
24. I have no . . . I have no . . .

^c Line 24 is continued below on the left ; see traces below the last *mte-y* and beyond.

Column 26.

(x + ?)

1. ^a . . . -f
2. [. . .] e-s(?) thr . . -f
3. [wn(?)^b . . . w]y(?) rm a-bl
4. wn(?) šbt n ʔn-t-f a-hn
5. wn d(d)th n ty ʔnh
6. wn wy n htb
7. wn p nt sq e bw-ʔr-f gm
8. e.ʔr-w tʔ(n.t) p šy p ntr tr-w
9. n-mr šny nb rm rh p nt rh . . .
10. e.ʔr mt.t hpr n p e.ʔr-ʔr-s
11. e.ʔr p ntr nw a p ht.t
12. e.[ʔr rm(?)]^c gm n-f sn hn mlh
13. e.ʔr rm gm n-f ʔry hr mʔ.t
14. wʔ n ʔp.w p ntr wʔ n mwy.w(?) . . .
15. wʔ n ʔp.w n n why.w . . . wʔ . . . wbe-w
16. ʔne šwʔ gm šwʔ e-f . . .
17. wn p nt skʔ e bw-ʔr-f . . .
18. wn p nt hwy(?) e bw-ʔr-f . . .
19. p nt e wn šny pe-f . . m-ʔr . .
20. p nt fy hsf(?)
21. p nt šty št . . . hn . . .
22. mr-y(?) pe(?) ʔry^d . . . bk.t(?)
23. mn nht.t ʔo.t . . .

^a The scribe seems deliberately to have tried to shorten his lines in this column until line 14, and to have cramped his writing considerably in consequence in the middle of the column, notably in line 12. From line 14 onwards the length of the lines was greatly extended in some cases, and traces of them are found on the next piece of papyrus, which contains column 27 (see plate 27). An -f remains from a lost line above.

Column 26.

(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. . . .
3. [There is . . . for(?) let]ting a man go out free(?).²⁹⁰
4. There is a stick(?) for bringing him in(?).
5. There is imprisonment for giving life.
6. There is release for killing.
7. There is one who gains (wealth) without seeking (for it).
8. All have a portion of fate from God.
9. Every sick man is in trouble; the wise man is he who knows . . .²⁹¹
10. A thing happens to the man who has done it.²⁹²
11. God looks into the heart.
12. In battle a man seeks a brother.
13. On a journey a man seeks a companion.
14. Pay the dues of God; pay the
15. Pay the dues of the fishermen . . . pay . . . for them.
16. If a merchant finds a merchant . . .
17. There is one who ploughs, though he does not (reap(?)).
18. There is one who . . . though he does not . . .
19. He whose . . was accursed, . . .
20. He who bears scorn(?) . . .
21. He who digs a plot(?) . . .
22. If(?) I love my(?) friend . . .
23. There is no great strength . . .

^b Almost certainly a word is missing between *wn* and *wy*.

^c Very cramped, but I think this reading is the only possible one.

^d Hardly *mry.t p ʔry*.

Column 27.
(x + ?)

1. Traces only at end of line.
2. ²p mr(?) [...] . . . pe-f ^cy [n-]mne [...]
3. hne(?) e bw-²r-rh [...] . . .
4. m-²r ty n-nfr ky n (?) [...] [n-?]bn-k h^c-k
5. ²ne . . . e . . . f a p ²tn
6. e.²r-w g(?) . . . t²e-f . . .
7. ²ne s-hm.t hy n hr(?) . . . my h^c-f n-s p myt
8. te-k(?) . . . hnst.t(?) . . . y . . . [. . .] dd n-f m-²r e-f dd e-y
9. e-w hn-s n-k . . . ne-k ef.w ne-²r pe-s n-bn
10. bw-²r mter.t n ky sm n ht.t lh t nt hr ht.t-f e-s hr ht.t-f^a
11. m-²r dd . . . [d?]lh
12. mter.t(?) . . . pe-k(?) . . . [et]be p ntr.
13. rm e-f mhy(?) ²rme(?) ne-pe-f tme byn dt py
14. m-²r hms . . . hbr <n.>t²(.t) p ntr bw-²r t²e-f wt.t st.t a.²r-k^a
15. m-²r ty(?) [...] . . . ht.t(?) a.²r-k
16. e-w h^c n^h . . . ²r-f k
17. e-y . . . te-y gm pe m^c
18. e-y snty . . . y pe-k(?) ²n
19. ²r-k tm s . . . hr . . . ^cs-k nm^b hr p th²
20. m-²r . . . pe-k ²ry n dd y n [. . .]
21. ²r-k th²(?) . . . p ntr
22. m-²r ^cs(?) . . . e-²r-hr pe-k hry e bn-e-f mte-k ²n
23. . . . hry . . . a hry . . . n^c [t?]

^a See Plate 28 for the end of the line.

Column 27.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. Consider (?) loving(?) . . . his house daily.
3. A blockhead(?) who does not know . . .
4. Do not (try to) make another good . . . if you are bad yourself.²⁹³
5. If to the ground.
6. . . .
7. If an arrogant woman . . . let him give way to her.²⁹⁴
8. You are . . . say to him "Do not" when he says "I will".
9. If they order you . . . your body that which its bad condition(?) feels(?).
10. Another's instruction does not touch the heart of a fool; that which is near his heart is near his heart.
11. Do not say . . .
12. Instruction(?) . . . your . . . on account of God.
13. A man who fights(?) with the people of his village is poor for ever.
14. Do not dwell(?) . . . disaster(?) at the hand of God; lest his wrath(?) is turned upon you.
15. Do not put(?) . . . [his(?)] heart against you.
16. When life is abandoned(?) . . . he perishes.
17. If I . . . I find my justice(?).
18. If I fear . . .
19. If you do not . . . you cry "Who is in trouble?(?)".
20. Do not . . . your enemy(?) . . .
21. If you are in distress(?) . . . God.
22. Do not cry " . . . " before your master, unless it be yours.^{294a}
23. . . .

^b The short horizontal stroke in front of the clear *m* is probably all that remains (owing to missing fibres) of the *nm*-sign which also looks like *m*.

TRANSLITERATION

Column 28.
(x + ?)

1. Only traces^a
2. *m-ʔr dd te-y ʕʕ n nkʔ mte-k(?) . . . p ʕo a.ʔr-k*
3. *a.ddy hrw . . . [ne-]k(?) bk.w n(?) mt.t . . . t*
4. *m-ʔr ʔr n-k šwt n ʔry [e]-f ʕnh a ty ʕt*
5. *m-ʔr ty ʔsk te-k(?) hm.t(?) . . e bn-p-k šn m-s-s*
6. *my(?) ph . . . e-f . . . ty šp n-s n p ntr a ʔr . .*
7. *m-ʔr ʕʕ dd . . . e.ʔr-hr rm ʕʕ bw-ʔr-k dlh*
8. *m-ʔr ʕʕ dd . . . e.ʔr-hr(?) rm ʕʕ bw-ʔr-f ʔk n sʕhʕ(?)^b*
9. *m-ʔr . . . bw-ʔr-f gm t nt e.ʔr-k ʔr-s*
10. *m-ʔr hsy n ʕʕ a p ntr wn-mte-f te-f w[ne].(t) n stm sh*
11. *sh*

^a At end of line -f.

TRANSLATION

Column 28.
(x + ?)

1. . . .
2. Do not say "I have much wealth", but (?) . . . to your superior.
3. Say a word (?)²⁹⁵ . . . your servants . . .
4. Do not get yourself a merchant for a companion; he lives (only) to be slain.²⁹⁶
5. Do not let your wife linger . . . unless you have enquired about it.²⁹⁷
6. Let (?) . . .
7. Do not be always saying . . . in the presence of a rich man lest you be(?) reduced.
8. Do not be always saying . . . in the presence of(?) a rich man, lest he be destroyed by your accusations.
9. Do not . . . that he may not discover what you are doing.
10. Do not be weary of crying to God, for he has his hour for hearing the scribe.
11. (IT IS) WRITTEN.

^b Proposed by Smith.

- a.
1. . .] . w n p [. .
 2. f] p ky[. .
 3. . .] p hl[. .
 4. Hr[-sy-²] s . .
 5. . .] . . . [. .

- c.
1. . . p(?) e-k(?) [. .
 2. . . t^e[-s(?) [m] s-^c o. t e [. .
 3. ^c] nh-ssnqy[. .
 4. . .] s(?) a t^e e-f mt. t rm-nmh[. .
 5. m-s n²] y hpr w^c ssw ²r n[-w(?) . .
 6. hw] y(?) hm t(?) tm² [. t(?) . .
 7. . .] ²r Hr-sy-²] s . .
 8. . .] ^c] nh-ss[nqy . .
 9. (only traces).

- e.
1. ^cnh-ssnq] y [. .
 2. . .] -y-s [. .
 3. . .] Wn [. .
 4. . .] n(?) Hr[-sy-²] s . .
 5. . .] a ²W/n . .
 6. s] dny [. .
 7. s] dn] y . .

- b.
1. . .] ²rme(?) [. .
 2. e-f(?) hp] r te-w thb[. .
 3. ^c] nh-ssnq] y . .
 4. . .] hl hw² [. .
 5. (only a trace).

- d.
1. . .] ^cnh[-ssnqy(?) . .
 2. . .] -w ²rme(?) [. .
 3. . .] -w a p [. .
 4. . .] tr(?) [-w . . . k(?) . .
 5. . .] . . . [. .
 6. . .] -s(?) n-f [. .
 7. . .] -w(?) t(?) [. .
 8. . .] . . . [. .
 9. [nh-ssnq] y sy Iy [-nfr
 10. . .] m^c(?) [. .

- f.
1. . .] w^c. [. . .] Iy]-nfr sy ^c[nh-ssnqy(?) . .
 2. f . .] p s 2 [hp] r(?) n-w(?) ty(?) [. .
 3. ^cnh]-ssnqy rn p hl[. .
 4. . .] ²r-w s^cnh-w dr[. .
 5. . .] hl hn n w^cb.w P-R^c n(?) . . [. .
 6. [w^c] ssw hb P[r-^co(?) . .
 7. . .] ^cy [n(?)] syn [. .
 8. . .] sn-s [. .

POSTSCRIPT: A NOTE ON THE FRAGMENTS¹

At first sight too little remains of each line to be worth translation *in extenso*. Here and there a new point is added to the narrative. There are clear references to the birth of a child (male)—probably of two children: *te-s ms-^co.t* "her midwife" (c/2), *p hl* (a/3), *hl hw²* (b/4); to the care of the child: *²r-w s^cnh-w dr* "they were well (lit. 'strongly') nourished"; and the name of one child was 'Onchsheshonqy' (f/3). There is perhaps a reference to an 'Onchsheshonqy's enrolment as a priest of P-R^c: (*mn*) *hl hn n w^cb.w P-R^c* (f/5).

It is clear that if the four fragments from which I have quoted hang together, as they appear to do, they must all come from the beginning of the story, in the top half of Col. 1, and it now seems almost certain that fragment f. should be placed close to the right-hand edge of what remains of the top of Col. 1, in such a way as to align line 1 of the fragment with line 1 of the column, and to leave a space (for *w^c*) of from $\frac{3}{10}$ ths to $\frac{1}{10}$ ths of an inch between *hpr* (1/6) and *ssw hb Pr-^co* (f/6).

This leaves little choice for fragment c., owing to its size, unless we assume that the column contained several lines above line 1. The most hopeful clue to the likely position of c. is to assume that the beginning of "Onchsheshonqy" at the left edge of f/1 belongs to the large part of the name in c/3. This would fit well with a probable full stop after *rn p hl* (f/3) followed by *[m-s n²] y hpr w^c ssw* (c/5). The only difficulty is how to fill the gap between *dr* (f/4) and *hw²* (?) at the beginning of c/6. It will be noted that this position for fragment c. means that line (x+) 1 of column 1 would become (x+) 3. Further the name of 'Onchsheshonqy' occurs two lines before we are told that a certain child was given that name. This can only mean that there are two 'Onchsheshonqy's mentioned in the text.

Fragments a. and b. must therefore fit somewhere in the blank space at the top left-hand corner of col. 1, but I can find no evidence for their exact alignment in the column. I suspect however that *te-w thb[-w]* "they caused [the child(?) to be] washed" (b/2), should follow not long after and perhaps in the same line as *ms-^co.t* (c/2).

Fragment e. manifestly belongs in Col. 2. Its first line is part of the line already numbered 1 in the column, and it should be placed almost as near to the left edge of the large lacuna as possible, so that we can now read the beginning as well as the end of *Hr-sy-²s* in line 4, the beginning as well as the end of *Wn* in l. 5, and the middle as well as the end of *s^cny* in line 7.

Fragment d. must belong in Col. 2 and should perhaps be placed, as Smith proposes, so that the traces of *nh* in d/1 form the beginning of the *nh-ssnqy* which is completed in e/1. The readings from fragments e. and d. have been incorporated in the transliteration of Col. 2 on p. 4 (but see p. 4, footnote e).

This reconstruction tells us nothing more about the conspiracy which eventually provided the excuse for the Instructions; and indeed it is probable that no details were given in the narrative. The conspiracy does not become part of the story till 'Onchsheshonqy joins Harsiesi (top of col. 2); the first five lines of that column are taken up with 'Onchsheshonqy's arrangements while living with Harsiesi; in the next the bare fact of the conspiracy is mentioned, and then follows the argument between Harsiesi and 'Onchsheshonqy.

But we can see a little more clearly the background to the story, and perhaps the essential cause of Harsiesi's grievance. We already knew that Harsiesi's and 'Onchsheshonqy's fathers (Ramose and Tjainufi respectively) were great friends (3/17-18); we now know that there were two 'Onchsheshonqy's. It would be quite natural for Ramose to call his second son after his great friend's son—in which case the reference to "Onchsheshonqy son of Ramose" (1/6-7) would not be a slip on the part of our scribe after all (see Note 1). This man would be Harsiesi's younger brother.

The trouble begins in line 6. As I see it, Pharaoh sent (the elder) 'Onchsheshonqy for a physician. He found the younger 'Onchsheshonqy in the house of the Physicians, and it was he (the younger 'Onchsheshonqy) who was "clever with his remedies" (1/7) and answered all Pharaoh's questions (1/10). Harsiesi, the elder brother, with the claim to the office and estates of (his father?) the Chief Physician, was jealous of his brother; the Chief Physician apparently did not demur to the young 'Onchsheshonqy's

¹ I had left this Note on the six fragments on plate 29 till I had completed the work on the main text, because I could not originally place them in position. Now, when the text is already in print, it has been possible, with the knowledge gained in the interval, to place the two largest fragments with virtual certainty, with the result, as will be seen, that I have considerably revised my interpretation of the first half of Column 1. The Note that follows explains how I arrived at that revision, and ends with the alternative translation.

action (and so also incurred the displeasure of Harsiesi (1/11-12) ; and when he died and Harsiesi automatically¹ succeeded to his office and estates, Pharaoh took no more notice of Harsiesi than he had done before. It was this slight which brought matters to a head.

If this rather speculative reconstruction is reasonably near the truth, we can see how Harsiesi was able to bring the other great men at court into his plot. For Pharaoh's action was not only personally insulting to Harsiesi, but an affront to the office of Chief Physician, which doubtless alarmed and offended other holders of high office—"the Guards and the Generals and other great men of the Court" (2/14-15). Moreover the story provides a good excuse for one of 'Onchsheshonqy's favourite themes in the Instructions, the relations between elder and younger brother, and especially the need to have a kindly elder brother (10/15).

A few points of detail in the fragments are worth noting. In b/2 *thb* is certainly the word "to wash" etc. of 10/10 (Vocab. No. 584). In c/4 *mt.t rm-nmh* is probably the Coptic *ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁⲙⲉ*, "freedom". In c/5 *hm* is the word for "salt" and *tm* perhaps "mat" (on which food was served), but it is difficult to read anything but *[w]y* or *[hw]y* before *hm*, and though *hwy* could make sense it is difficult to find room for the necessary auxiliary before it. In f/1 probably read *[Ty-nfr n 'nh-ššnqy]*, and perhaps *[dd]* before that ; alternatively *[Ty-nfr sy 'nh-ššnqy]* (Smith), but this would involve a third 'Onchsheshonqy in the story, who would be the grandfather of the writer of the Instructions.

The TRANSLITERATION of 1/1-8 should therefore probably be revised to read as follows (omitting the remains of two earlier lines preserved only in fragment c/1-2).

1. (a trace) [.] *p(?) w' n. [m-w(?) dd(?) Ty-nfr n 'n]h-ššnqy* [.]
2. *rm-f²* [. . .] *p s 2 hpr n-w ty(?) . [. . .] s (?) a t e-f mt.t rm nmh* [.]
3. *dd-w n-f* [*'nh-ššnqy rm p hl [m-s n']y hpr w' ssw 'r n[-w(?)*]
4. *n-(?) . . -w 'r-w s'nh-w dr [e-w(?) hw]y (?) hm t tm* [*t(?)*]
5. *mn hl hn n w' b.w P-R^c* . . . [*. . . 'r Hr-sy³ [s] a.'r-w sh(?)* [. *m-s n']y²*
6. *hpr [w'] ssw hb P[r-'o 'nh-šš[nqy a(?)p(?) 'y(?) sy[n e(?) 'nh-šš[nqy*
7. *sy R^c-ms n(?) [p(?) 'y sy[n] . . [.]-f n-nfr-f ne-f phr.w. [. . .] wh(?) p wr*
8. *syn šn-s* [.] *-f wh a.'r-w tr-w [gm(?) p wr syn (9) p hpr* etc.

The TRANSLATION would then go somewhat as follows :

1. [.] the(?) one of [them?]. Said(?) Tjai[nufi to 'Onchsheshonqy [.]
2. by name [. . .] the two persons. (It) happened to them [. . .] for(?) his freedom [.]
3. They called the name of the boy 'Onchsheshonqy. [After] this it happened one day that did [.]
4. They . . . and they were well nourished, [there being(?) gi]ven (lit. cast) salt (on) the mat(?)
5. There was no youth among the priests of P-R^c Harsiesi did [.] to them(?). [He(?) wrote [.]
6. It happened one day that Pha[raoh sent 'Onchsh[eshonqy³ to(?) the hou]se(?) of physicians(?), 'Onchsheshonqy
7. son of Ramose [being(?)] in [the(?) house of Physi[cians(?)] him ; he was clever with his remedies [so as to be able to give(?)] the answer(?) (of) the Chief
8. Physician. ['Onchsheshonqy(?) asked him [the questions sent by Pharaoh(?), and he could(?) answer to them all. The Chief Physician [learned(?)]
9. the fact that [he had answered all the questions(?) of Pharaoh. Pharaoh asked many [things],
10. and he told him the answers to them all. Pharaoh was very [.]. It happened that [he(?) had (?) to(?) the estates of
11. the Chief Physician and that the Chief Physician was doing nothing beyond what was owing to him. And Harsiesi son of Ramose took counsel about it.

¹ In the first instance (1/13) we are told that Harsiesi was appointed (*'r-w*), with no reference to Pharaoh. Later Pharaoh says *te-y 'r-w.t-k*, probably "I allowed you to be appointed" rather than "caused" as in the Translation (3/11). Similarly in 'Onchsheshonqy's speech at 2/12.

² Proposed by Smith, and suits the traces excellently.

³ i.e. the son of Tjainufi.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

COLUMN 1

1. See the POSTSCRIPT, p. 65, for a revised transliteration and translation of the first ten lines of this column, resulting from the placing of fragments c. and f. (p. 64 and plate 29) in this column.
2. The name 'Onchsheshonqy is certain at the end of line 6. Before the fragments c. and f. were placed I assumed that either the filiation "son of Ramose" here must be a mistake for "son of Tjainufi" or that "Onchsheshonqy" should be emended to "Harsiesi" since elsewhere in the text 'Onchsheshonqy is always mentioned as "son of Tjainufi", or without filiation. But see now the Postscript (p. 65) for the justification of the text as it stands.
3. See Vocabulary, no. 417 for the palaeographical evidence in favour of the reading.
4. We should expect *m-bh-f* instead of *n-f*, since Pharaoh is being addressed. Perhaps a special use of *dd* with *wh*.
5. Here and in the similar phrase in l. 14 below, the chief Physician and Pharaoh respectively seem to have failed to do something which was expected of them, in each case leading to dissatisfaction on the part of Harsiesi and so (presumably) to his subsequent conspiracy. See the Postscript for a fuller explanation. For *bw-r . . . 'r mt.t m-s mt.t* cf. *Ryl. IX, 13/5*.
6. I.e. "died". See *Ryl. vol. iii, p. 85, n. 1*.
7. The initiation fee on becoming a priest (*τελεστικόν*) was remitted. (See *Priesterdekrete*, vocabulary no. 405 and *Ros. l. 9* (demotic version), and cf. *I Kh. 3/16 'r-k a ty 'r-w n-y . . . II n w' b 't tne*, "You shall cause two priest's [stipends?] to be given to me without tax.") Note the sing. *w' b*, though plural "brothers" are referred to.
8. See note 5 above.
9. Probably the whole phrase is a title as *p* follows directly after the name. 'Onchsheshonqy is described by Harsiesi as "a priest of P-R^c" (3/16), and in the formal ascription to him of the Instructions (4/17) as "*yt-ntr*" simply. Neither title can be read here, but we might expect a more explicit description of his office, e.g. "The . . . of the house concerned with offerings(?)" (reading *p . . n pr na-trp(?)*).
10. Lit. "he thought together with his heart, saying, 'that which is agreeable (*mt.e.w* qualitative) to my heart'" etc.
11. Taking the group after *p ntr(?)* as the abbreviation for *ty st* (as at the end of 5/15).
12. The anticipation of the main clause *'r-f gm w' tgs* (l. 20) by a subordinate clause is difficult, but less so than to take *e-f 'w* as a main verb.

COLUMN 2

13. The missing lines at the beginning of this column must have described 'Onchsheshonqy's arrival at Harsiesi's house in Memphis. Harsiesi is now persuading him to stay with him. The "people" referred to here and in line 5 would be 'Onchsheshonqy's family and dependants whom he has left at his home in Heliopolis. The reference to "three times a month" (also in line 5) suggests that 'Onchsheshonqy was to send his family money or rations once a week (by Egyptian reckoning). In line 5 perhaps read "(to)" rather than "(for)".
14. *brt*, an otherwise unrecorded word, occurs again in 11/12, but the contexts do not make it easy to suggest a single word for both passages, particularly in view of the epithet *bn* in 2/6. See Vocabulary no. 20 for further discussion.
15. The broken passages, lines 6-8, must have contained Harsiesi's disclosure of his plot to 'Onchsheshonqy, but the lacunae seem too short to include references to Harsiesi's fellow-conspirators who are referred to in lines 14 and 15 below.
16. The reading *p wr* seems certain. Possibly it is an official title (an abbreviation of *p wr syn*) ; or possibly 'Onchsheshonqy's meaning is "You are powerful enough, why aim higher and conspire against Pharaoh?"
17. Or, possibly, "Let him <n namely> Pharaoh be safe with (or secure in) the statue of Pharaoh." For the insertion of *n* (= classical *m*) before *Pr-'o* cf. *hr-f n p lh*, "Says he, namely the fool" in 10/6. It is difficult to see any other construction which will make sense of the passage. For the reading *w d* (also in 3/3) see Vocabulary, no. 129.
18. For the meanings of *'š-šn* see Vocabulary, no. 78a.
19. *tr-w* after *pr-Pr-'o* requires a plural before it ; the suggested restoration is perhaps near the required meaning.

20. *šb.t* seems a preferable reading to *šr.t* (which would give an unknown word) and the writing is paralleled in Erichsen, p. 497. For this use of *te-s šb.t* (also in 4/1-2, and *te-w šb.t* in 2/17 and 3/7) see Vocabulary, no. 480. Cf. *šb.t* differently used in 3/7 (Note 34).
21. Lit. "Cease from me"; cf. *II Kh.* 3/10 and 12, and *Mythus*, 19/31, all three of which examples are introduced by *dd*.
22. Lit. "there is not what belongs to <the(?)> things in what you say". *ne-w* would make no sense in the context, and the form is possible for *na* (see Lexa, *Gram.* II, p. 185 and Vocab. no. 240).
23. For the reading see Erichsen, p. 403, *s(w)* and *s(w.tj)*; and L.2414 (pl. xxxiv) 1/4, where *s'wt* should be read for *ntr.w*.
24. *ne-* (plural of the copula) *dd* for *n* (plur. article) *a-dd* (relative form). Cf. below 3/6 and Vocab. no. 243.
25. Lit. "a man (of) those-belonging-to (the) staff (of the) house". Cf. the slightly variant passage in *I Kh.* 4/39 *wn rm h na-pr*. In both examples *ne-w* could be read for *na*, but in 4/7 below, *rm ne-w h pr*, it would be difficult to explain the *-w* of the possessive article, though *h(.t)* in the sense of body of men is a collective which could be treated as a plural syntactically. (See Vocab. no. 357.)
26. Or "close by a place, who could hear" etc.
27. It would be more natural to translate *e-w dd n-f* by "who was called", but that would make *rn p rm* after the name and filiation redundant, though not impossible.
28. Taking *rn-f . . . py* (copula) as "his list (rota) . . . was it".

COLUMN 3

29. Or, if Pharaoh is still speaking, restore the name of a God, probably *P-Rē*, though the traces do not suggest this.
30. Perhaps the name of the God rather than a private person, since Pharaoh immediately afterwards addresses *Uahabrē'machy*.
31. Taking *mte* as conjunctive. *Wry(.t)* must be an epithet of Neith, perhaps the demotic equivalent of *wr.t* "Crown of Lower Egypt" (*W.B.* I, 332), "Neith of the Lower Egyptian Crown", but probably "(the) great one". For the whole phrase *Nt . . . 'o.t* cf. Erichsen, p. 206 under *nj.t*. With the passage beginning *'n mte-y wd* (ll. 2-3) cf. the exchange between Pharaoh and his courtiers in *II Kh.*, 4/26-29. For discussion of the grammatical points raised by *'n mte-y wd* and *'r-k wd* see Vocab. no. 129.
32. So far as I know *hs.t* is never used for 'foreign land' in demotic, though it may mean the desert edges of the Nile Valley in which the necropolises lay. If "cemeteries" is the correct translation, the point of this statement may be that Pharaoh shall have complete power of (life and) death in Egypt; otherwise translate by "gebel", with reference to the confines of the habitable land of Egypt. Note that *tr.w* (line 5) must refer to the *hs.wt*.
33. Lit. "everything which he heard the voice (of) Harsiesi . . . when he was saying them".
34. Lit. "And he did not make any thing (word) on earth (of) change therein." *šb.t* is the same word as at the beginning of this line (7) and in 2/13, 17 and 4/2, but with a different usage. See Vocabulary no. 480 and Note 20 above.
35. For the restoration cf. the same phrase in a similar context, *II Kh.* 4/26. For a clear writing of *rsty* see 13/22.
36. The traces suit *wrh*; the det. is a badly-written house-sign. See Vocab. no. 111.
37. For *rte.t* = *рѣтѣ*^{SA}, *рѣтѣ*^B, not *рат* see Griffith, *Stories*, p. 133, note, and cf. *I Kh.* 5/33 and 35 *st h' a pe-w rte.t m-bh Pr-o*. Similarly *p rte.t h'* in lines 9-10 of this column are paralleled by *e-w h' a pe-w rt.t n h'* of *II Kh.* 2/4. Cf. also *II Kh.* 2/9 *e n-o p rt.t nt e-f n.'m-f n p m-šs* "the position in which he was being exceedingly great". These passages suggest that the meaning of *rte.t* in this context is 'position', 'rank', 'order' rather than 'style', 'manner'.
38. Lit. 'houses of standing', obviously parallel to the *rte.t* of the Generals and the *rte.t h'* of Harsiesi.
39. Unless *'r-k* is a mistake for *'r-f* (cf. 2/13) it must be taken with *mte*, lit. "when you were conspiring".
40. Lit. 'Good counsel (of) Pharaoh'; or perhaps simply 'Pharaoh's good' and similarly "Pharaoh's doom" for *'š-šn bn* in l. 14. Cf. 4/5 where *'š-šn bn* clearly means a plot against Pharaoh. Harsiesi's only excuse for his disloyalty is that he is the instrument of P-Rē. See also Vocab. no. 78a.
41. *n.te dd-w* for *nt e dd-w*. "The words which were said"—presumably by P-Rē, (rather than by Harsiesi's fellow-conspirators) referring back to *hm-s* in lines 13 and 14.
42. Apparently a feminine noun, determined with the legs-sign. But the reading is not quite certain. The whole phrase clearly indicates the closeness of the friendship between the two fathers, and if *bhn* is

the correct reading the word may be the Eg. *bhn.t* "pylon, gateway" (*W.B.* I, 471). The phrase would then mean "he had the key to his heart".

43. Cf. *II Kh.* 2/33 "Pharaoh said, 'Let there be summoned to me (my *'š-w n-y*) Setme . . . *'r-w dde 'n-w st n ty hty.t* they ran, they brought him at that instant", and see Griffith's note, *Stories*, p. 133 to *I Kh.* 5/31.

44. Lit. "my evil", i.e. the *'š-šn Pr-o* of lines 14-15. "Eaten my bread" may be a too limited meaning for *wnm-k pe nk*. 'Onchsheshonqy, as the guest of Harsiesi, who was a member of Pharaoh's court, was for the time being entirely maintained by Pharaoh.

COLUMN 4

45. From what follows, 'Onchsheshonqy must be speaking, in reply to Pharaoh's accusation at the end of column 3. He is repeating what he said to Harsiesi when he was trying to dissuade him from his plot (2/9-13).
46. Cf. *I Kh.* 5/36 *'r-y t.t-y a.'r-k*, lit. "I did the extent of my hand", with Griffith's note, *Stories*, p. 134; and Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, p. 50, n. 21. See Vocab. no. 55.
47. Lit. "The hour (of) saying them which he did." Cf. *II Kh.* 6/12-13 *t unwt n (n) dd n mt.w e.'r N*. followed by a *stm-f* introducing a different person as subject, as here. Apparently 'Onchsheshonqy had not been told any details of the plot; his question therefore in 2/13, to which he received no answer from Harsiesi, was not merely a rhetorical one.
48. Lit. "the evil counsel of (i.e. against) Pharaoh" or "Pharaoh's doom". See note 40. Dr J. Zandee tells me he is collecting the evidence for the burning of evil-doers in Ancient Egypt.
49. I can make nothing of *na-'m-p-nhs* except a name, more probably that of the prison itself than of a place, since there is no town-determinative. That the Houses of Delay means some kind of prison is clear from its equation with *n štg-w na-'m-p-nhs* in 4/9. Cf. *p 'y hrr* in B.M. 10591 Vo. 3/17, *Siut Archive*, p. 52 and p. 53, n. 7.
50. The reading is certain. For the det. see Erichsen, p. 48, and Vocab. no. 52. I had originally taken the *'tn* to be a different person from the "staff-bearer", who is mentioned alone in lines 10, 12 and 13, and the *rm na-h-pr* (see note 25) to be a different person again, making a staff of three in all who were assigned to look after 'Onchsheshonqy, so that his imprisonment was in the nature of 'house-detention'. But there is no reason why the three expressions should not be in apposition and refer to one man; the first describing his relation to 'Onchsheshonqy, the second his normal office, and the third emphasizing Pharaoh's continued interest in 'Onchsheshonqy. For *ty-šbt* cf. *W.B.* IV. 442, last entry, *ty-šbt*.
51. For the writing of *'s* see Erichsen, p. 227. Lit. "a man of the household belonging to Pharaoh". In *I Kh.* 4/39 (quoted in Note 25) the ownership of the two *rm h-na-pr* is expressed by *'p r* instead of *'s*.
52. The reading is suggested by the use of *a-hn* in 4/18 and 5/15.
53. The preposition *a* after *wy* before the person to be freed is unexpected, but certain—cf. *e-bn-p-w wy a.r-f* in 5/18, and *p wy a.r-f* in 20/16.
54. Lit. "What belongs to goodness". Or possibly translate: "a trifle"; cf. Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, 240a, *ⲁⲛⲧⲏⲟⲩⲣⲉ* "unprofitableness".
55. See Vocab. no. 4 for this usage.
56. *mter*, clearly "instruct", seems to have a more personal sense than *sb'* here (and throughout the actual *Instructions*) for "teach".
57. See p. 13, footnote (g).
58. Or "the words with which he could instruct his son." Here, and at the end of 5/19, the sentence may well finish at *n.'m-w*, and *sh* be a kind of colophon, "(It is) written," as it certainly is in the last line of the text (28/11).
59. See *Ryl.* III, p. 201, n. 3 and Vocab. no. 233; and cf. Erichsen, 195, *mdg*.
60. For other meanings of *hbr* see Vocabulary, no. 319. Here it is clearly used as an exclamation.
61. Lit. "In return for the fact that I did not kill . . ."
62. Or "it is thy abomination", "abomination in thy sight"; not, obviously, "it is your fault". The same usage as with *'š-šn Pr-o* above (see notes 40 and 48).
63. Lit. "Is this in the manner-of-being (ⲁⲛⲧⲏⲟⲩⲣⲉ) angry against the land which P-Rē does." Possibly therefore translate "Is it anger against the land which P-Rē is showing?", and similarly in the next line.

COLUMN 5

64. The presence of the article before *hp* in line 2 and its absence in line 3 seem to imply a difference in meaning. *p hp* is perhaps the more concrete idea—"the law of the land"; *hp* by itself "law and order".

Cf. the passages quoted from *Insinger* and Carlsberg II by Nims in "The Term HP, 'Law, Right,' in Demotic", *J.N.E.S.* VII (1948), p. 246.

65. Or "purity"? *w^b* is found in 8/18 with the house-sign as an abusive determinative, where the meaning is probably "priest"; possibly "priesthood" here.

66. Or "righteousness"—hardly "truth".

67. Klasens suggests "revenues". See Vocabulary, no. 475.

68. Or perhaps "pledges to be kept in it".

69. *S^t* is not known elsewhere. The place-determinative suggests Egyptian *s^t.w* (*W.B.* III, 423) as the origin, but this word is always written *s^t* in demotic (= Copt. *εστ*). The translation "ransomed" = Copt. *ⲥⲱⲣⲉ*, I owe to Klasens; but again *ⲥⲱⲣⲉ* > *s^t* > *s^t* (*W.B.* IV, 351) is written quite differently from our *s^t* in demotic (See Erichsen, 473). If "ransomed" is the right meaning and *sh* "scribe" is the correct reading, the line may contain a pointed reference to 'Onchsheshonqy's own experiences.

70. Lines 9, 10 and 13 are reminiscent of *Admonitions*.

71. Hardly "the teachers". See Vocab. no. 424.

72. Again, perhaps, allusions to the writer's experience and to his *Instructions*, respectively.

73. The reading *tdme* (*tbme* is hardly possible as an Egyptian word; but this may be a foreign title) seems certain, but I can find no clue to the meaning. The context requires an important title or office, as does the determinative.

74. Lit. "found the fact that". For the construction see Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.*, § 523.

75. Lit. "he was lingering and he was imprisoned".

COLUMN 6

76. I have kept the same word "serve" to translate *šms* which begins the first six lines, though *šms* has a wider connotation, e.g. "worship" may perhaps be nearer the meaning in line 1, "respect" in line 3, and "honour" in line 6.

77. The same idiom is found in 21/12.

78. Or *'ne ht.t-k* may be a third imperative, but if so we should expect *'w-n-ht.t-k*, and it consorts better with the construction of the neighbouring verses to take *'ne* as a *stm-f*. For the idea cf. L.2414, (p. 272), 1/8.

79. Or "All teaching is acquired except (or as a result of) development of character(?)". Cf. the similar thought in *Insinger*, 8/3. For the doubtful meaning of *ty-my.t* see Vocabulary, no. 25.

80. *'snte.t* (if that is the correct reading) recurs in 25/21, but beyond the general indication that it expresses some unattractive quality it is difficult to guess at a meaning. See Vocab. no. 77.

81. My translation assumes the loss of *'r* after *m-²r*, otherwise it is difficult to make any sense of the verse.

82. The construction *mr . . . a . . .* usually = "prefer . . . to . . ." (see Vocabulary, no. 198) but gives poor sense here. I take it that the point of verses 16 and 17 is to discourage slackness at work on the land.

83. Lit. "weak", i.e. in colloquial English "soft".

84. The demotic group here is different from the forms for *'o*, *'y* or *'w* (see Vocabulary nos. 56, 60 and 62), so that *'ms* is perhaps the best reading. In any case the meaning is "adult" or "old".

85. "At his sight" can only make sense if it means "at (first) sight of him". Cf. the same idea in L.2414 (p. 273), 2/11.

86. I owe the reading *mr* to Klasens. See Vocab. no. 199.

87. Or "by (any)thing"?

COLUMN 7

88. Since this line almost certainly forms a couplet with the next, *a pe-k šr* probably fills the gap between *hte.t* and *m-²r* (the small trace would suit the base of *šr*); *-f* by itself is not sufficient for the space after the second *hte.t*, so that *a-²r-f* must be read there, and *a* therefore after the first *hte.t*. But I cannot parallel the [*n*] before *pe-k bk*.

89. *ht.t-k* could equally well mean in demotic "set your heart on" or "give your mind to". Line 7 seems to require the former meaning, line 6 the latter. I have used a word which can convey either meaning.

90. In general *swg* seems to be a synonym for *lh*. Spiegelberger has suggested, *Petubastis*, No. 352, that it can mean "minor" in the context of *Strasb. Petub. pap.* 4/5, which would give excellent sense in

the present passage. But this meaning is not supported by *cos* in Coptic, nor does it seem to me essential in the Petubastis context. In general *lh* seems to have a more pejorative sense than *swg* in this text. Perhaps the distinction is that the *swg* is the born fool, "idiot," and the *lh* the "fool" who need not be one if he did not despise instruction. That a distinction was felt is clear from 13/6 and 7.

91. Lit. "Conceal (anything)". Or possibly "hide (yourself)"; here, and in the next two lines.

92. Lit. "is (in) the place (condition) (of) the one who desires it".

93. Lit. "Do not run off and come back (by) yourself." See Vocab. no. 490.

94. Or "abuse" (lit. "cursing is great in his heart"). Cf. *Insinger* 14/11.

95. Or, perhaps, "is violent of temper" (and similarly "calm of temper" in the next verse). See Vocab. no. 130, and cf. line 20 with L.2414 (p. 272), 1/8.

96. Or "underestimate" (?); *n ht.t-k* must be taken closely with *ty hm* (similarly, *n ty hte* at the end of line 24 with *dd* at the beginning of that line).

97. Lit. "Do not say immediately what comes out of your heart". See previous note.

COLUMN 8

98. A difficult verse, quite apart from the lacuna. If the group after *'rme* and *'y.w* is correctly read as *ne-* it must be for *na-*, and I have translated it so. It is exactly paralleled in 18/10, but where *ne-* is certain (e.g. 4/3) the vertical stroke is lower relative to the sign before it. The 3rd plur. suffix *.w* is awkward in the *stm-f* form *'y.w* and requires *<n>* after it. Alternatively *sb.t* and *swg* may both be abstract nouns, and we could translate "learning and stupidity are (both) with the people (lit. those of, belonging to) [of your] neighbourhood; let the people" etc.

98a. For the thought cf. Pahari's Biographical Inscription, ll. 22-23, *šm.n.i hr wt nd.n.i sy*, "I went on a path [metaphorical] (only) when I had considered it."

99. Or, perhaps, "it is to your advantage to enquire."

100. I had tried to read *šp 3*: "If you enquire of a wise man three times etc." I owe the correct reading and improved sense to Mr. Smith.

101. Lit. "Use the happiness (of) your body, the good days are few". Cf. Eccl. 11, 9.

102. It is just possible that *st m-s* means "to return from" = "desert" in both verses, in which case the argument would be "Do your best for a scribe in prison so long as he is alive, do not worry over him when he is dead." The translation offered puts the argument: "Do not wait on a scribe while he is in prison, but make offerings and prayers at his tomb when he is dead." In either case there seems to be a reference to 'Onchsheshonqy's own fate.

103. Lit. "Unless you have power over (protection against (?)) him" or "unless you (will) have victory over him".

104. Lit. "(whether) the day is narrow (= difficult) (or whether) the day is joyful, wealth increases on account of seizing it." I owe the reading *hms* to Klasens.

105. Note the double anticipation of object (*p šy*) and subject (*p nt tbh*) followed by the passive *mte-w ty n-f*. But we should expect a resumptive *-s* or *st* at the end, referring to the object.

106. If this is the correct translation the meaning is perhaps "Do not covet your brother's acre, but make the most of your own". Alternatively the second half of the verse might be translated "When it is your own which you are looking at"; in which case the meaning would be—in view of the previous verse—"Do not pretend that your own (badly cultivated) acre is your brother's."

107. Lit. "its moment of working (= being worked)".

108. For a discussion of the meaning of *swt* see *Bürsch.*, p. 224, (d), and cf. Vocab. no. 422.

COLUMN 9

109. I.e. absence of factions in the community.

110. I.e. in a legal action.

111. I.e. "state dues" (cf. Sethe, *Bürsch.*, p. 176), or perhaps simply "official business".

111a. The meaning of the word (not recorded in demotic outside this text) is clear from 19/11, 12, and *tn't* is the most obvious reading, giving a possible derivation from *dnd* (*W.B.* V, 579) < *dndn* < *tnn* (*W.B.* V, 470-472). Possibly it is the same word as Copt. *ⲥⲱⲛⲧ*, which *W.B.* V, 56-7 gives as the derivative from *knd*; but it is impossible to read the demotic word as *qn't* here (cf. *qn* "cease" in 2/13), and it may be that the older of the two Eg. words (*dnd*) continued into dem. but not into Coptic. See Vocab. no. 577.

112. The reading *mšt* (proposed by Klasens) is certain.

113. Hardly just "family" which would be *mhw.t*. See Vocab., no. 493. And *hms a 'y* must be more than "sit at home".

114. The only reading I can suggest for the sign after *bn-p-w* 'r is 'sw: "Do not say 'I have ploughed the field, but they have not paid.' Plough again etc." But the form of the sign is not good for 'sw.
- 114a. Lit. "winter belongs to (i.e. follows) it (i.e. summer)".
115. This and the following five verses are obviously concerned with the same general theme, but the exact point of each verse is obscure. *ne-nk* = *na-nk*, cf. Note 98 and the same construction in 18/10, 11; but the precise meaning is not clear: possibly a better translation would be "the prospects of wealth".
116. Or "a house of profit" (= a bank?)? More probably the meaning is "Do not put your money into real estate". Cf. 18/20.
117. The *a* (or *n*) before *w.t-f* seems unnecessary, but it can hardly be taken as part of the last stroke of the house-determinative of *y*. If *nk* here = "money", the meaning could be "Do not leave your money in a house by itself" (i.e. unguarded).
118. Very obscure. *'r-k hb a.r-f* should mean "(when you) work for it" (circumstantial or a virtual imperative), but does not then suit the earlier part of the verse.
119. I.e. "is a responsibility to"—contrasted with the man who owns only a cow, and needs only to be able to keep up(?) with it. (But the point of line 23 may be "Even the owner of a cow must be able to run after it".)
120. An unknown word, which occurs again in 21/13. See Vocabulary, no. 449.
121. Hence "Do business"?
122. Lit. "According to the size (of) what you have."

COLUMN 10

123. Or "When you are not..."
124. I.e. "a scribe is as out of place in a workshop as a craftsman is on a dock-side(?)". (The scribe's function on the dock-side would be to count the merchandise being loaded or unloaded.) But the reading *mre* (de Wit) is very doubtful; cf. 11/15 where *mr.t* is certain and quite differently (and normally) written. See Vocab. nos. 200 and 201.
125. I take *šf.t* to be *ḥḥw* "measure of length" (Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 611a). *ḥḥḥ* (from *ḥḥḥ*, *op. cit.* 574a) "scales" gives a possible but less good sense; and the det. does not suit.
126. The connection between this verse and the previous one is not clear to me.
127. Lit. "'Tiresome to me is that which they do' says he, namely the fool", etc.
128. I owe the reading *mnṯ* to de Wit.
129. For fear of polluting the river? Or because it is bad manners to wash your hands in public?
130. We should expect *mn-ḥte* for "groom" (see Černý, *Crum Studies*, p. 39), but the reading and meaning here seem certain. The sense of the incomplete word at the end of the line must be something like "honour".
131. For *m* = "See", cf. Erichsen, p. 146; and Lexa, *Gram.* § 1130. "See, Thoṯh knows!" must be a proverbial expression, the point of which is not clear to me.
132. The importance of the role of the "elder brother" in Ancient Egypt is exemplified many times over in demotic documents. See, e.g. the Siut Archive generally; Mattha, *Rights and duties of the eldest son* etc. in *Bull. Fac. Arts, Fuad I Univ., Cairo*, XII (1950); Part II, p. 113 ff. and *Essays and Studies presented to Stanley Arthur Cook*, p. 65. The precise meaning of *e-w ḥn-f n-f* is not clear; instead of "who is summoned for it" (i.e. "to represent it") perhaps "to whom it is ordered" (i.e. "in whose charge it is put").
133. The use of *pe-y* (without *h'*) for "my own" is unusual but paralleled by *pe-s* alone at the end of 13/5. The meaning of *dm* is more difficult. The word is known only as a subst. (Erichsen, 678), but here and in 12/15 (and probably in 23/11, though the meaning there is clear) is a verb. The det. indicates that it is related in meaning to the known subst. My translation "struggle" is derived from "produce", "work for". In 12/15 the reference may be to the struggle which was apt to arise when an estate was divided between two brothers and their families—cf. the Siut Archive.
134. Or "for profit"?
135. The emphasis is perhaps on the desired existence of the bull (or the herd), rather than on the willingness of the cow, which might account for the absence of the article before *sty-t*. But note also the absence of the article before *šr* in the next verse (and before *šr* and (even more) *hry* in line 22), where we should expect it. For *sty.t* = "cow" see Vocab. no. 50.
136. Lit. "be old as". Or perhaps "be (as) honoured as". See Vocab. no. 574.
137. The point of this verse escapes me. For *nšy.t* see Vocabulary, no. 265.
138. Lit. "may existing habitually succeed dying".

COLUMN 11

139. Or "may I recognize" etc. For *hn(?)* see Vocab., no. 384.
140. Cf. *pgy* 'b with the same meaning in 10/13.
141. Cf. *Ani*, 3/1.
142. Lit. "... control its end (goal)"; or, perhaps, "grasp its end (shaft)".
143. Rather than "will perish upon it". Cf. 22/5.
144. See Volten, p. 75 ff., and Vocabulary, no. 25.
145. See Vocabulary, no. 20 and note 14.
146. I owe the reading *y.t* to de Wit.
147. Lit. "harbour" (*mr(.t)*, not *mr*).
148. I.e. God will grant a catch to every fisherman's home(?).
149. Meaning presumably that the guard who is caught robbing is dismissed, and his property confiscated. Or does it mean that if a guard has to commit robbery his family must indeed be poor?
150. Lit. "... lest he make its (the tree's) shakings." Cf. Coptic *ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲛ* "shake" "tremble"—perhaps here a technical word for shaking the fruit from the date palm.
151. Lit. "size", "measure", and so "importance" or "unimportance". The point of the verse is made clear by the next one.
152. An unknown word, but the general sense is clear. See Vocabulary, no. 371.
153. Of the man's life presumably.
154. Or "Say (rather) 'a fortunate fate' at the end of (his) old age".

COLUMN 12

155. Or, "Do not mock [at one who is] in trouble," reading [*a p nt e-f*] instead of [*e bw-r-k*]. For *sdyh* see Vocab. no. 469.
156. Cf. with this line and the preceding one the compensating maxim at 18/21.
157. Or, perhaps, "seeks justice", i.e. takes his case before a wise man.
158. Lit. "who intercedes".
159. *sk*, properly a verb, must here function as a subst., since *te* requires a *stm-f* after it.
160. Or, "see to your wealth"?
161. I owe the reading *spte* to Professor Erichsen. See Glossary, no. 429.
162. Or, possibly, "Do not go short (of food, luxuries, etc.), there is no security in wealth."
- 162a. Cf. our "Nothing succeeds like success".
163. Lit. "Do not make a strong plea (in court) against a man unless you can cause him to be weak in it".
164. Lit. "Let him be loud of his voice (or complaint), namely, he who has done, etc." *n-te* for *nt e*.
165. Or perhaps, simply "Do not say anything out of season".

COLUMN 13

166. Lit. "succeed to it"?
- 166a. Cf. L. 2414 (p. 274), 3/7-8. For *pe-s* (without *h'-s*) see Note 133.
167. See note 90.
168. I have tried to retain something of the punning quality of this aphorism—*mw.t* ... *m't*; and *m't* (= 'way', hence 'copy', 'precept') ... *'ry* (= 'companion' hence 'copy', 'reproduction').
169. Lit. "take for yourself a maid to advantage". If *ty šl* already has the force of Coptic *ⲥⲓⲛⲉⲗⲉⲣ* (as seems likely from the absence of a feminine *t* in *šl*) we must translate "marry", and *šl* cannot be taken with *a-h šw* (which otherwise might give the sense "harlot"). But note that the normal phrase in this text for "to marry" is *'r n-f ḥm.t*.
170. I.e. "be double-faced". The verse then goes with the next.
171. Lit. "Let it be united with your speech".
- 171a. Cf. with this line and the next L. 2414 (p. 273), 2/8-9, and see Volten's note on *h' r hry* on p. 278. Cf. also 15/8.
172. The word (probably a subst.) is unknown, but the sense seems clear. (See Vocab. no. 68.)
173. I can make nothing of this line. *t.t-f* should mean "his fat", but we expect "her fat", unless the *-f* refers to *š'*. The pattern of the sentence would then be: "Teaching a woman (is) *myh* [verb] *š'* [subst.] which lacks its fat." Perhaps the meaning is something like "Teaching a woman is like planting the *gebel* when it has lost its richness" (i.e. top soil from the flood). For guesses at *myh* and *š'* see Vocab. nos. 184 and 472 respectively.
174. For *sq.w* see Vocabulary, no. 454.

COLUMN 14

- 174a. The restoration is made certain by L.2414 (p. 272), 1/2 (the latter half); line 1 of this column must have contained the first half of Louvre 2414, 1/2, or something very similar to it. The latter half of the next line in Louvre 2414 is virtually the same as the next line in this column.
175. Lit. "A man whose matter is small, it is [absolute pronoun] that which he takes".
176. Lit. "Shall not find its profit".
177. Five hundred seems to be the favourite round number to express an exaggeratedly high figure. Cf. 15/25 and 18/12; and the 500 strokes received by both Pharaoh and the Viceroy in *II Kh*.
178. Lit. "Do not multiply your words". The next line (to which this one obviously leads up) is the same (but for an additional word, *nk'*) as L.2414 (p. 272), 1/10. The next line in Louvre 2414 (not the previous one, as Volten suggests) is to be taken with it; it is clearly a more picturesque version of line 12 in this column.
179. We should expect *n* after *snly.t-f* instead of *hr*, but cf. Lexa, *Gram.*, p. 769, no. 974. For *hse* see Vocabulary, no. 398.
180. *wt.t* perhaps = *orhte* "lightning(?), calamity" (Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, 495).
181. I take *pe-k rm* to mean "a person in your household" or "somebody who works for you". There is no *k* under the damaged word after the second *hpr*; possibly read *hpr 'n ge*, and translate "Treat your man well, that your will may be done and that another gift (or "more produce") may follow".

COLUMN 15

182. Line 4 should give the clue to the missing word after *mn*. Perhaps *hf*, "dyke" (cf. 11/10).
183. The sense seems to require "I did" after *dd*, but there is not room for *'r-y*. *bn-p-f gm.t-s n-y* perhaps means "he did not ascribe it to me" (hence "thank me for it"); alternatively "he did not discover it for me" i.e. "did not require it of me".
184. Lit. "When your fullness-of-man(hood) has happened and much wealth has happened, let your brothers be great (rich?) with you."
185. Lit. "come into the street". See Note 171a for *a p hpr*; and L.2414 (p. 273), 1/14 for *šy*.
186. Lit. "A man who gets money (for) the first (time?) is the eater of it", etc. If *mh-r* is the correct reading it seems difficult to translate otherwise. "Squander," suggested by Smith, suits the context better than "collects", i.e. "makes".
187. See Vocabulary, no. 218 and 528 respectively for *msty* and *kl*. The contrast in this and the next line is between the tame cat under the chair, in the tomb paintings, and the fierce lioness of the hunting scenes; or between Bast and Sekhmet.
188. Cf. L.2414 (p. 273), 3/4-5.
189. The reading *šw.t*, rather than *šb.t* (for "merchant", "dealer") is proposed by Hughes (private communication). So, too, Erichsen, p. 495. See Vocabulary, no. 479.
190. Lit. "belongs to", assuming that the vertical stroke before "200" has been added to the preposition *mte* by confusion with *te* "give".

COLUMN 16

191. Cf. 25/6.
192. [*mh*]*y* "fight", or [*wh*]*y* "fail, be evil", are at best guesses. *hw(?)* is a possible writing of *hw* "day" but not the same form as occurs below (16/11) in *hw-ms*, and it requires the article before it to make sense (e.g. "Do not fight, the day is yours").
193. Reading *šr <n>* (genitive) *sb'.t*; alternatively read *šr <n or a (prep.)> sb'.t* and translate "Do not let your son go to school at the door", etc. In the first case the point of the verse is that a boy is not to be trusted near the larder when there is little to put in it; in the second, perhaps the same, or perhaps that there is no use in instructing your son in good management when you have little coming in from the harvest, etc.
194. Lit. "he will reckon to you for money". The clause ought to be subordinate; "if he charges you for it," but so translated loses some of its point.
- 194a. Cf. L.2414 (p. 273), 2/10.
195. Or "to spend on land", but in the next two verses the second clause begins with an imperative and we should expect one here (though the negative clause in the verse after is followed by *a* + infinitive). That *'n ht a ms.t* means to "borrow money" and not to "lend" (Lexa) or "put out for interest" (Boeser) is clear from *ty ht a ms.t* "to lend" in 16/21.

196. This injunction seems almost to be contradicted by the next unless a birthday celebration was a social obligation.
197. Lit. "to make high living with it". Cf. the similar thought in Insinger 26/16.
198. Lit. "be worse than your (present) condition".
199. Lit. "Do not ask (intercede) for yourself before God"?
- 199a. Cf. Insinger 4/4.
200. Or "Do not make a statement in court in which you are lying"?
201. Or "Do not be pusillanimous in an evil matter" (i.e. "do not be afraid to speak up in order to right a wrong").
202. I take "the stranger" in line 19 to be someone from another village rather than a foreigner from abroad (as Lexa translating Insinger 32/21), and the maxim to refer to the natural hostility between Egyptian villages (cf. 15/15). The "nothing in your hand" and "something in his" must refer to food or money, not to weapons.
203. Or "make too many pledges".
204. A difficult verse owing to the uncertainty of *tn (tne)*. *tne* "where" (τὼν) should have a determinative, and would normally come at the end of the sentence. If I am right in taking it as *tn* "at the rate of", then it is necessary to give the rather forced meaning "be rich, wealthy" to *'š*, or at least to regard it as a noun (*tne 'š-s*) "according to her muchness" = "according to what she has", which weakens the irony of the verse (and creates the additional objection of a suffix pronoun after *'š*). *sbk* "be little" must here have the sense of "be mean, close" or "go short of". Possibly read *bn-e 'š-s* and translate "it will not be that she is rich", i.e. she will not inherit much when her husband dies?
205. If the reading *'n hm* is correct, *hm* must be redundant.

COLUMN 17

206. Lit. "who listens to (obeys?) your voice", perhaps therefore a periphrasis for a servant or inferior.
207. This can hardly be the ethic dative frequently found with *šm* (see Vocabulary, no. 490, for examples) as the repetition of the usage in the next verse requires a more specialized sense of *šm*. "Go for your(self)" suggests "look after yourself", or "go out for yourself" (in colloquial English), and suits the context.
208. But it should be *phw (n) p t*. Hardly *ph-h* "door-bolt" (see *Mythus*, no. 275).
209. Or "Speak".
210. Lit. "Do not run exceedingly, (so as) not to stand". Possibly "Do not run too much and don't stand still".
211. I.e. "even the stone is continually washed by the river".
212. Taking *šq* to be the word found in Pap. Mag. 6/34, though the meaning is not certain there. But see Vocab. no. 504.
213. This verse goes with line 14 (and line 17 with line 15).
214. Or "If you keep company with a man and are happy with him, do not leave him (even) if he is bad".
215. I.e. "wait till he dies".
216. Lit. "He who comes after him will make you live". "He who comes after him" = "successor", or perhaps, "He who is behind him (legally)" i.e. his guarantor or trustee.
217. I.e. a woman who is much sought after is deserted by her lovers.
218. *sp-sn* cannot really have the meaning "twice" as I have used it. Lit. "every hour, every hour"; perhaps "hourly" expresses the injunction sufficiently strongly.
219. Lit. "for a year's turning"; perhaps "for one year's cycle"?
220. Referring to the Nile as the universal drainage system of Egypt(?). For *sksk* see Vocab., no. 457.
- 220a. For the same construction, *te-y stm-f* = *tape*, in a similar context see L.2414 (p. 272), 1/12 and Volten's note on p. 277.

COLUMN 18

221. Taking *tn* to be the verb meaning "to raise up, to be respected" etc. (Vocab. no. 564), rather than *tn* "to be of an age, mature" (which might give the sense here "a decisive failure"). *mnh* must be the infinitive used as a noun; cf. *ks mwt ks 'nh* (*Mythus* 17/12, quoted in Erichsen, p. 592).
222. Perhaps the most cynical verse in the whole of the *Instructions*, and in direct contradiction to 9/5. The powerful man will not need legal documents to back his claim; the small man will find them useless.
223. *ne-* for *na-*; cf. note 98 above.

224. I do not think *he.t-f* can be taken as part of one of the prepositional phrases *n-h.t* or *a-h.t*, since neither would give a proper sense. It is probably the word for "body" used in the same way as in *h-pr* (see note 25), and means something like "body-guard". For the idea cf. children living at home with their father in Möller, *Rhind I*, lines 4 and 5 of the dem. version. Possibly emend *st he.t-f* to *h' a-h.t-f* "stand before him", but it would be a great liberty to take with such a carefully written text.

225. Or "her thoughts are on her lover" (lit. "him who takes her").

226. Or, "wealth, etc. . . . God, for him who has acquired it."

227. Lit. "likes his house for living in".

228. Or "builds it and (then) mortgages it".

229. Cf. 19/15, and contrast 12/2, 3.

230. Or "the owner of the flood".

231. Or, "he dispenses to him who eats it." In any case there must be a contrast between the generosity of the Nile (line 24) and the niggardliness of the man with fishing rights over the water, who either drives away anyone poaching on his water, or makes only a small distribution of fish to his own people.

COLUMN 19

232. The reading *qnqn*, which suits the traces, is difficult, because the only example I can find of the word used transitively is followed by *'rme* (*I Kh.* 3/32). [Spiegelberg, *Dem. Gram.* § 178, thought the word in *I Kh.* 3/32 was to be read *hr 'wj- . . n*. Thompson (Dict. s.v. *qnqn*) "after very careful comparison" of the published reproduction and of a photograph in his possession rejected this in favour of the accepted reading *qnqn*. So too Erichsen, *Dem. Les.* I, i, p. 10.] But I can suggest no other reading and something like this sense is required.

233. A common Nile fish, used for eating. I take it that by "its rival" a fish of another species is meant.

234. All men are alike in the night?

235. Or "what he hates". In either case there must be more to the verse than its face value. I suspect it is a comment on the previous verse, "love" and "hate" being instinctive reactions.

236. Clearly parallel to the next verse, but I cannot suggest a meaning for the unknown word *wh(?)*. (It does not seem possible to read *wf*.)

237. Cf. 18/21 and Note 229. The next two verses are comments on this one.

238. Or "There is none so wretched as the dead" (lit. "compared with him who has died").

239. For the omission of *n* after a numeral preceding its noun, see Lexa, *Gram.* § 358.

240. Or, perhaps, "when your master says something clever to you, you suspect him" (in view of the next verse), but I doubt if the meaning "fear of" for *snty* can be justified with *n* after *snty*.

241. Lit. "your voice", probably in legal sense of plea, hence "legal support", or "approval".

242. The periphrasis is necessary to bring out the sense of *pe-s*.

COLUMN 20

243. "Woof" from Coptic *ΒΗΚΕ* (masc.). If *bk.t* = *b'k.t* (*W.B.*, I, 430) "ground, foundation, site", etc., we may translate "ground, floor" or even "basement", remembering the scenes of weavers in the basement of a Theban house in the Tomb of Thutynfer.

244. Perhaps, better, "All good fortune etc." Cf. Insinger 15/5, and 11/23 above.

245. This verse and the next are obviously of the same grammatical pattern, but the translations offered are largely guesswork owing to the unknown words. The most unsatisfactory feature of the translation is the interpretation of an apparent fem. *t* as the *t* of an agential noun in *sk.t*. For *khyh* see Vocab. no. 537.

246. The last word (a verb) must be *mte* (Vocab. no. 227) "to be fitting, to agree, etc." According to the pattern of the previous line it should have some semantic connection with *h't*. The connection which has made me venture on a translation which has nothing solid to support it is between measuring and the *balance* (equation, agreement) of the scales. But everything is against my interpretation of *h't* as an agential subst. from *h'i*: in the only writing of the verb in this text (10/4) the word is spelt *hy* (though possibly with the same det. as *h't* here), and there means to measure, not weigh. (Vocab. no. 363.)

247. Lit. (and perhaps nearer to the meaning) "a window of which the opening is large", i.e. "a large window".

248. Lit. "are received".

249. Presumably from prison; *wy* must be transitive in view of 4/8 and 5/18, otherwise we might translate "The friend of the rogue is the man who escapes from him". *hne* should perhaps read *bne* as in Lexa (no. 146); see Vocab. no. 384.

250. Lit. "under his eyes".

251. If "beans" is the correct translation the proper distinction between *pr-h't* "treasury, strong-room, safe" (for money) and *r* "magazine, store-house", (for corn, etc.) breaks down.

COLUMN 21

251a. Verses 1-12 seem to be a series of truisms or laws of nature; any attempt to fill the lacunae in the text must take this into consideration.

252. *ge* can hardly be "or" in the context. For its use as a writing of *ky* see Vocabulary, no. 515.

253. Or, if the determinative is a mistake, read *bny.t* "palm-tree" and translate "strips a palm-tree". The Theban tomb paintings often show Nubian men with bare breasts. For a Nubian woman naked to the waist see Davies and Gardiner Tomb of Huy, plate XXX, top register. But fashion may have changed between the XVIIIth Dynasty and Onchsheshonqy's time.

254. Or "hurls his companion from a road".

255. See Note 120 above.

255a. See Note 283.

256. Or "a bronze (vessel or) a garment" if the pot-like sign represents a separate word, *hbs* (cf. the writing of *q hbs* in 14/19).

257. Lit. "a woman who has a husband".

258. Lit. "his wife will be taken".

259. Cf. *Insinger*, 8/22.

260. Almost the exact opposite of 19/17.

COLUMN 22

261. Clearly parallel with the next verse.

262. The curved line over the *ht* sign cannot be *n* (gen.), which in any case is probably indicated by the short vertical stroke on the left of *s*, so that *nb* not *ht* must be read.

262a. See Notes 142 and 150.

263. The word at the end of the line can only be "fat".

264. Or, possibly "a beam is not taken to a donkey", i.e. to beat him with.

265. Lit. "praised, favoured, one".

265a. The article after *dd* in this verse and the last suggests that *hsf* and *hs* may be vocatives: "Do not say 'O scorned one' ('O favoured one') to a loved (detested) woman".

266. I.e. the knife of the fisherman who cuts up the fish (*bul'ti*—see Note 233) and hangs it up to dry.

267. As opposed to the peasant working by the river.

268. *bty.t . . . bty.t* obviously requires the two shades of meaning that "filth" gives.

269. Meaning "Let the man who has not got his eye on the river (i.e. does not live or work near it) see that his water-jugs are well filled" (?).

270. Perhaps, lit. "reckon an answer in your hand until before".

271. I.e. from the strength of his shoulders, or from the load of corn that he carries back from the harvest.

272. I.e. the overseer, *reis*.

COLUMN 23

273. I cannot account for the *.t* in *g'.t*, but can make no sense of the verse except by taking *g'.t* as a writing of *gr*.

274. *pn'.t* proposed by Smith instead of my **qne.t* (> Eg. *kn't*, "litter") is certainly correct. Cf. 18/8.

274a. *šp t'.(t)* must presumably have its usual meaning in the legal documents, "guarantee etc." (see *Bürge.*, p. 38), and *mr.t* can only be the Copt. *μεριτ* "beloved"; otherwise it would be tempting to read *t'(n.t)* for *t'.(t)* and translate "... receives a share of his love". Perhaps "Every man who stretches out his hand to God is assured of being his beloved".

275. I owe the suggestion "cat" (Coptic *κλν*) to Smith.

276. Lit. "My voice is your voice," says he, namely the weak of hand".

277. For *pl* cf. Eg. *tnr W.B.* V, 383. (Vocab. no. 579.)

278. The point of this and the next two verses I take to be that while certain classes of people or animals play the more honorific part, others enjoy the practical consequences. Hence *hms.w* must imply something a little grander than mere "sitters" or "dwellers", and I suggest that guests at a party are meant. The unknown word *t'y* (if my reading is correct) is perhaps something stronger than "holiday". See Vocab. no. 595.

279. Or, "Do not place a poor man beside a great (rich) man," i.e. compare one with the other.
280. More than one interpretation seems possible.

COLUMN 24

281. Lit. "it (the donkey) makes its (the horse's) goings".
282. Or, perhaps, "to achieve it," i.e. to win the prize.
283. *mt.f* can hardly be an "unetymological" writing of *n.t.f* as Lexa thinks (his Vocab. no. 28). The word occurs only once in *Insinger* (14/5) and is there written with only one *t*, but that before the det. (*mt.f*). "Preserve" or "rescue" gives good sense in *Insinger* 14/5 as here, but not in 21/13 above. Perhaps the basic meaning is "deliver", with its alternative nuances "preserve (from)" and "hand over (to)", which are the meanings required in 24/10 and 21/13 respectively. (See Vocab. no. 33.)
284. Lit. "may your heart be great!", presumably a friendly greeting.
285. "Harvest"—lit. "wheat". An adverbial phrase of some sort is required to fill the lacuna. (The son of the landowner does no work in the field, but it is he who inherits the estate.)
286. Presumably an obscene figure of speech.
287. It is difficult to believe that *hfw* is a variant of *hf*, which occurs four times in the text (11/8; 14/14; 20/9; 13). A possible derivation for a separate word is *Hf.t W.B. III*, 273, the name of a serpent. For the *a* before *pyr* cf. 22/12 where the same construction is found in a similar pattern in the verse. Lit. "a snake to come forth from hunger".

COLUMN 25

- 287a. *ht*, which seems the only possible reading, may have some technical meaning here—"a stick (of furniture)"? Possibly read *a* as well as *p* before *ht*.
288. For *te-y te* (tape) see Note 220a.
289. I owe the (almost certain) reconstruction *e.r-hr ht.t-s* to Smith. "Care for" in the sense of "take care of" or perhaps only "want".

COLUMN 26

290. The first eight verses of this column seem all to have reference to the introductory narrative.
291. The word after *rh* has *y* certainly as the second group and traces of what could be *h* before that. Possibly read *hy* "to measure it"?
292. I.e. a man gets his deserts(?).

COLUMN 27

293. Or "make another fare well . . . if you do not fare well yourself"(?).
294. Cf. *Insinger* 33/24, where the phrase *h' p myt n* occurs in the literal sense.
294a. The general sense (and the greater part of the text) of this line becomes clear in the light of L.2414 (p. 273), 2/12.

COLUMN 28

295. Or "raise (your) voice"?
296. Lit. "to receive slaying" (or "beating"). Of, if *st* is here the subst. "shortage", perhaps "to buy shortages", i.e. "corner the market"(?).
297. Or "after her"?



